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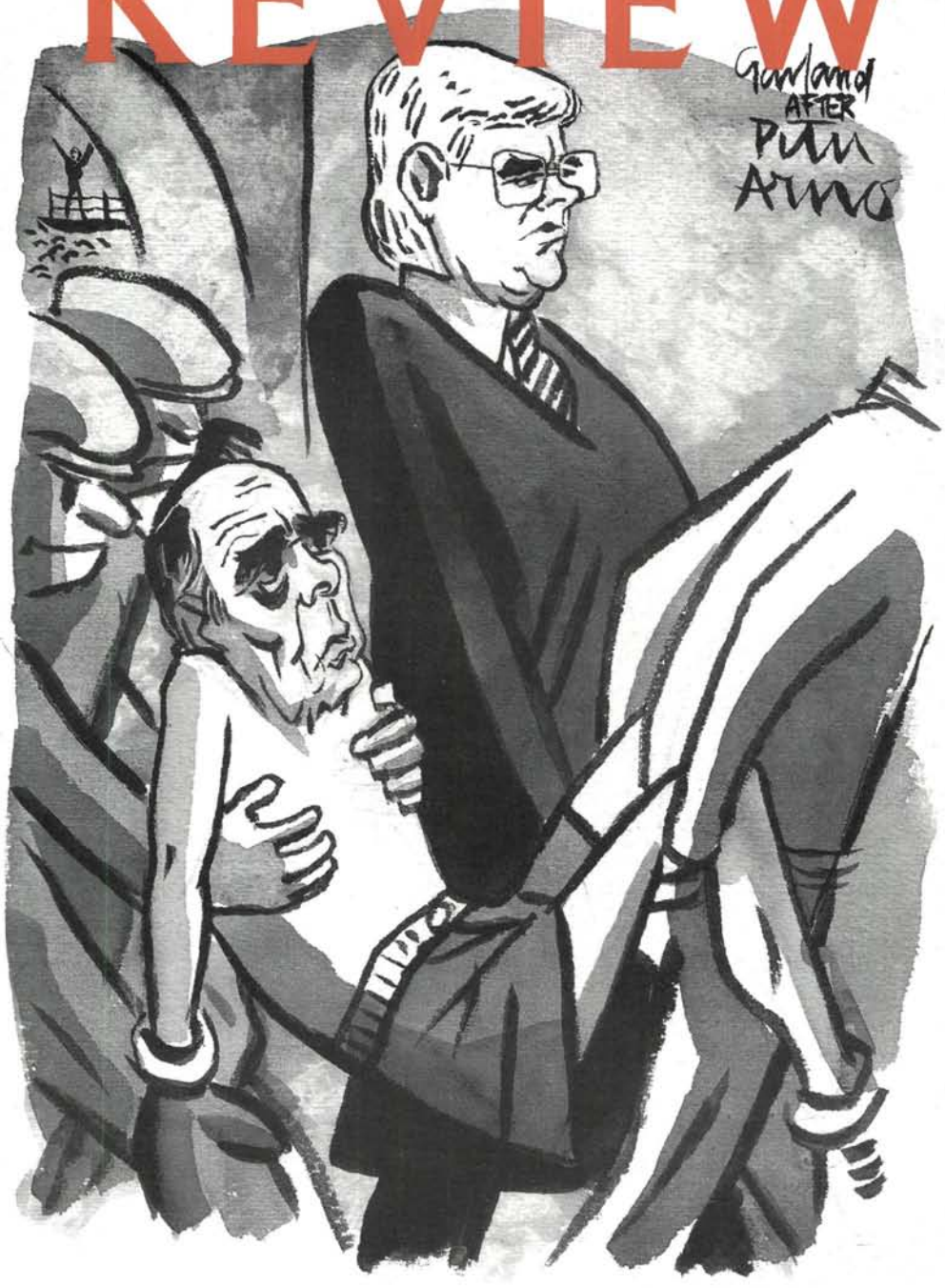
Life after CCRI — Dinesh D'Souza

NATIONAL REVIEW



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NATIONAL REVIEW

DECEMBER 9, 1996 VOL. XLVIII, NO. 23

SPECIAL RECRIMINATIONS ISSUE

Who Lost the White House?
John O. McGinnis compares two candidates, a winner and a loser (p. 34). . . . **Don Nickles** diagnoses the MediScare campaign; shouldn't the Democrats be offering an apology? (p. 36) . . . **Ramesh Ponnuru** goes inside the Dole campaign and finds nothing there (p. 38). . . . **Stephen Moore** blames the undistributed middle (p. 40). . . . **Harold Johnson** blasts Republican action and inaction on CCRI (p. 44). . . . **Herbert London** gives Al D'Amato a payback (p. 47). . . . **Gretchen Morgenson** throws mud at Dole's positive message, and attacks the press (p. 49). . . . Who is to blame? **Gary Bauer** checks the "pollsters" box (p. 51). . . . **Richard Lamm** reflects on Ross Perot's ego (p. 52). . . . **Danielle Crittenden** scorns the President's way with women (p. 53). . . . **David Frum** calls Jack Kemp for fumbling, and takes him out of the game (p. 54). . . . **Richard Brookhiser** offers two cheers for Newt (p. 55). . . . All things considered, **Michael Barone** has no regrets (p. 56).

FEATURES

26 ***Beyond Affirmative Action***
In the wake of Proposition 209, observes **Dinesh D'Souza**, this country has four options in dealing with race and ethnicity in schooling and employment. One of them is clearly preferable to government-mandated preferences.

76 ***Misanthrope's Corner***
In an effort to quit the female sex, **Florence King** quits the Republican Party.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

61 The Book of Genesis remains as relevant today as it was in the beginning, says **Jacob Neusner**, no thanks to Burton L. Visotzky's *The Genesis of Ethics*, David Rosenthal's *Genesis: Contemporary Writers on Our First Stories*, Karen Armstrong's *In the Beginning*, Robert Alter's *Genesis*, and Bill Moyer's *Genesis*. For authentic readings of the Bible's first book, Stephen Mitchell's *Genesis: A New Translation of the Classic Biblical Stories* and Avivah Gottlieb Zornberg's *The Beginning of Desire* are good places to start. . . . In *Born to Rebel*, Frank Sulloway explains the course of civilization in two words: sibling rivalry. **Steve Sailer** isn't buying any. . . . **David Frum** scorns the subjects of *American Elites*, and congratulates its sociologist authors: Robert Lerner, Althea K. Nagai, and Stanley Rothman. . . . **John Simon** is big on *Big Night*. If watching a guy make love to his dead wife is your idea of fun, you'll love *To Gillian on Her 37th Birthday*. . . . On the Mall in Washington, **Mark Miller** gets mugged by Democratic Realism. . . . Got a case of the blues? **Digby Anderson** recommends larders.

SECTIONS

2 ***Letters***
8 ***From the Editor***
10 ***For the Record***
14 ***The Week***
32 ***Gekko***
58 hel
60 ***Letter from Al***
70 ***Books in Brief***
73 ***Trans-O-Gram***
74 ***On the Right***

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LETTERS

Thy Lord and Master?

Steven Goldberg ["Is Patriarchy All in the Mind?" Nov. 11] tells us that men are born to rule, but gives short shrift to the more complex question of whether women are born to *be* ruled. The latter does not necessarily follow from the former.

If might makes right, there's nothing to discuss. But apologists for patriarchy rarely recommend that women be bludgeoned into submission (too messy). So they quietly slip from the descriptive to the normative, assuring us that women who fiercely resent domination (feminists) and are plotting to get out from under are "unnatural." The "natural" thing for women is to resign themselves to the fact of male domination (lie back and enjoy it), and everyone will be better off. Yet quite a few women are unhappy with this state of affairs. What proponents of this theory actually mean is that women *ought* to accept being dominated. Mr. Goldberg's musings on patriarchy are far less profound than they appear, for they help us very little with this moral and political dilemma.

Amy L. Wax
Charlottesville, Va.

Mr. Goldberg muddles cause and effect. Institutions like government, business, science, and sports tend to be male-dominated precisely because they are male-created. It might be a discovery to find that males were better suited than women to roles that were somehow "just always there," but it is not at all surprising that institutions created by men naturally best accommodate their tendencies. Ironically, feminists define power in male terms, then demand that men hand over their handiwork to the "deprived" women. True feminism would unashamedly recognize more traditional women's roles as *being* positions of power, a power that resides in female-created institutions such as family and community. Only matriarchy can truly balance patriarchy.

William E. Terrell
Stafford, Va.

The issue I addressed is not, as Miss Wax puts it, whether "men are born to rule" nor whether "women are born to be *ruled." These are both empirically meaningless concepts. And science, the explanation of what is, can never alone generate a view of what "ought" to be. The point is that without exception, all societies have exhibited male domination. This can be coherently explained only in terms of the known neuroendocrinological factors that give males a lower threshold for the elicitation of dominance behavior by environmental cues such as hierarchy. Whether we like it or not is not a scientific issue.*

Mr. Terrell begs the question. Since (e.g.) hierarchy exists in all societies, the question, put in his terms, simply becomes: Why is it always the males *who are able to create and dominate a hierarchical social structure? As for matriarchy balancing patriarchy, in the context of the theory I discuss, "matriarchy" can only mean a society characterized by hierarchies dominated by women. For the reasons I gave in my article, such a society will never develop.* —SG

Thank God for Christians

Your arguments in "First Things First" ["The Week," Nov. 11] are reminiscent of those advanced by Tories during the American Revolution and by slave owners during the great abolition campaigns. During the civil-rights movement in the 1950s and '60s, churches were told, as your editorial invokes, to render to Caesar what was Caesar's and to God what was God's.

Thank God that in all these cases Christians joined hands with other citizens of good will against unjust and immoral laws. Thank God the leaders of the civil-rights movement invoked civil disobedience in service of democratic reforms. In hindsight, we applaud their courage and noble contribution in defense of life and liberty.

Hadley Arkes, Robert Bork, Russell Hittinger, Robert George, and I are of one mind: the courts have usurped the democratic process; they have exhibited open hostility to traditional morality. But this is no time for despair, rather grave concern —and democratic action. As part of that process, Roman Catholic and Protestant communions along with observant Jews should tap the moral resources at their disposal to bring to bear a transcendent judgment upon the regime. That is, as we see it, rendering to God what is God's.

You express alarm at some of our conclusions yet you offer no real alternatives. What do we do if the Court effectively unravels the social contract, if self-government is no longer possible? These questions can no longer be avoided by concerned citizens who seek to ensure that our experiment in ordered liberty extends well into the twenty-first century.

Charles W. Colson
Prison Fellowship
Washington, D.C.

The Art of Fashion . . . Isn't

Much of "In Defense of Elegance" [Oct. 28] is ingenious and rings true; some of it is illuminating as well. I have one major quarrel, but let me underline some uncontested points first. In the past fashion served largely as an indication of status. It no longer does, except marginally for priests, soldiers, and policemen. In our egalitarian, fluid, and bored society fashion aspires ambiguously to originality and trendiness, individuality and conformity. Every year it packages the human body (mainly the female body) differently, now baring, now covering diverse parts, occasionally transforming appearance altogether. The annual repackaging stimulates curiosity, the desire to open the package. There certainly is an art to it. But fashion is no more an art than gastronomy is. Not because it has utilitarian as well as aesthetic functions. After all, so does architecture, which is (or was) art, as the works of Bernini or Palladio testify. Greek statues celebrated the body; so does fashion. Why then are they art while fashion is not?

Botticelli's paintings may well arouse a desire for the bodies he painted, but this desire is incidental. The painting transcends it. Cézanne's apples do not even incidentally arouse our appetites. A painting may represent and express, but to become art, to produce an aesthetic experience, it must transcend its object. Fashion does not and cannot. It is not meant to transcend the body it envelops but to make it attractive, glamorous, and chic. These epithets are flattering when applied to fashion, but pejorative when applied to art. Art does not aspire to be chic; it becomes so only when misused. Fashion, however, aspires to nothing more or less.

P.S. Although I do not think of them as art, I certainly appreciate what fashion and gastronomy do to arouse my appetite.

Ernest van den Haag
New York, N.Y.

Artists have adopted a uniform of overalls (invariably worn with one shoulder strap unbuckled) in order to proclaim their solidarity with the working man and to assert that they are workers too. I've often wondered what farmers, say, and construction workers, the original wearers of this outfit, think when they see an artist dashing about wearing the same. Do laborers feel any solidarity with artists?

Mary M. Bartels
Campbell, Calif.

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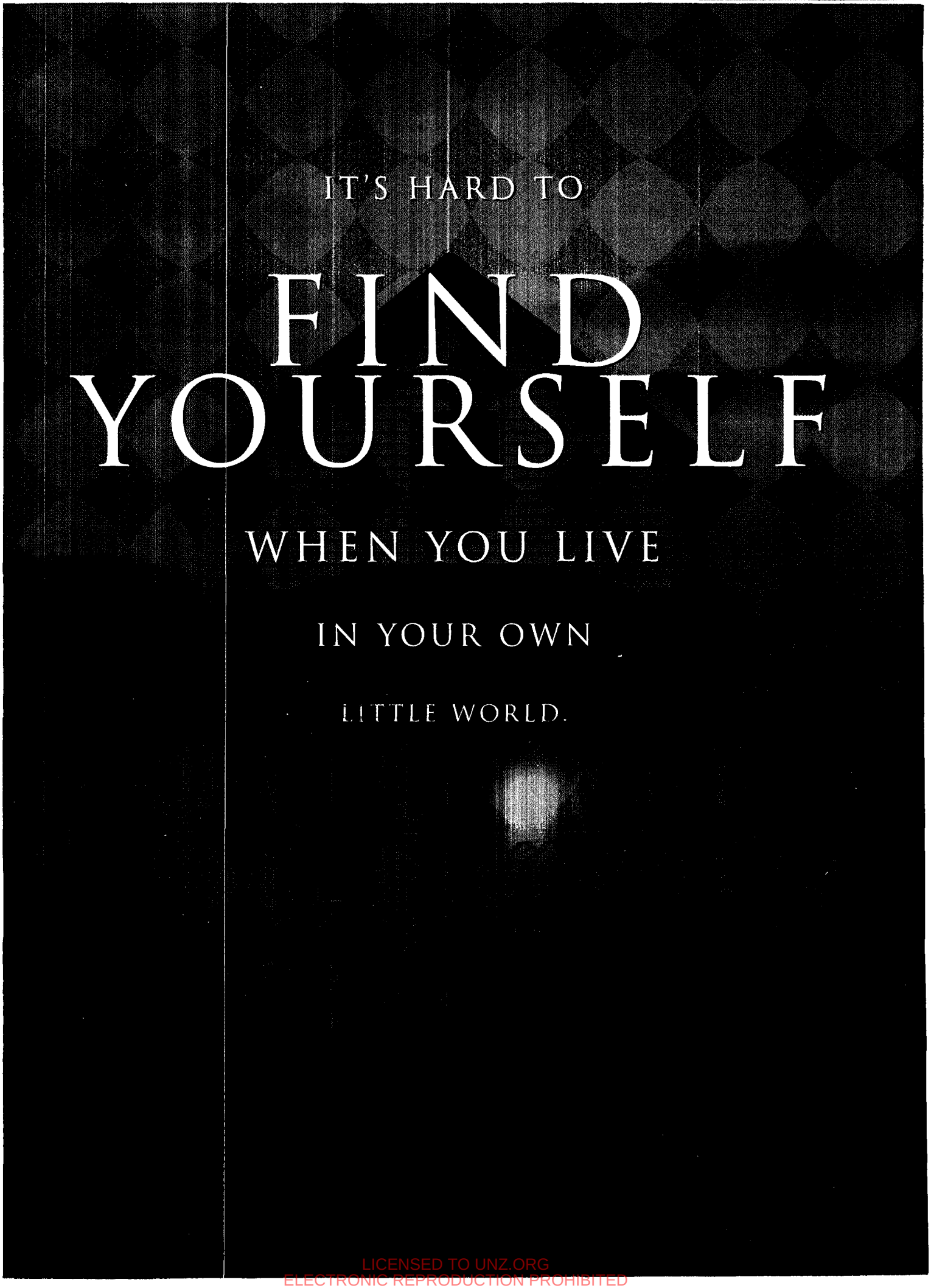

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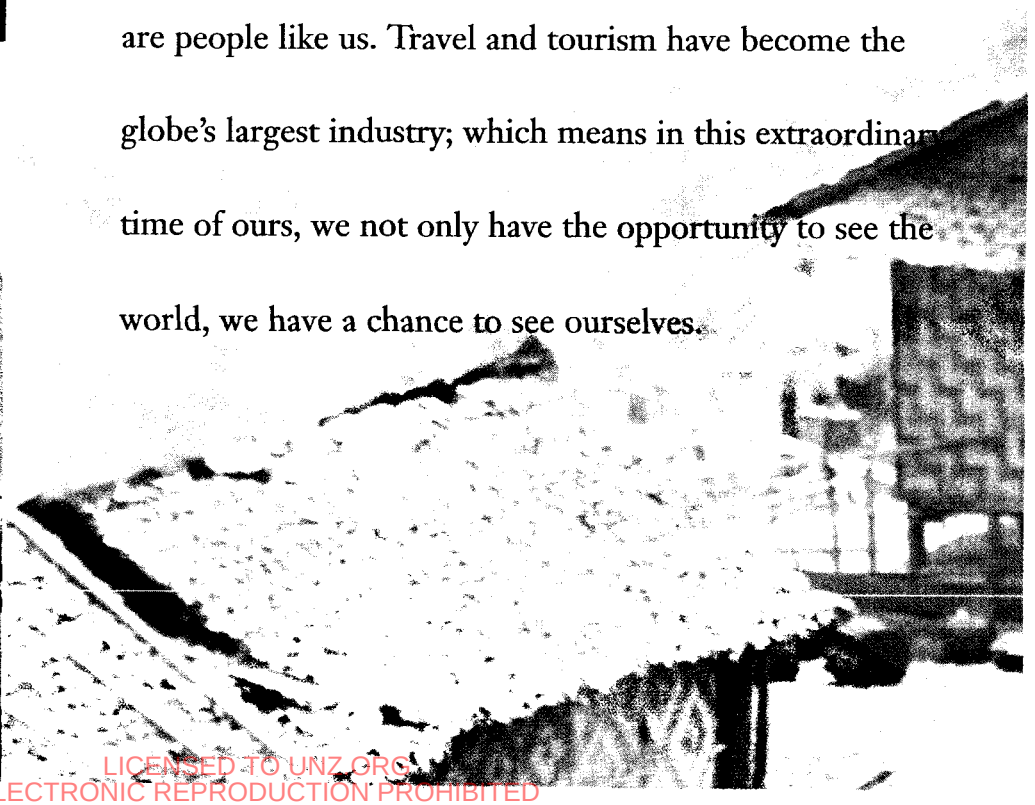

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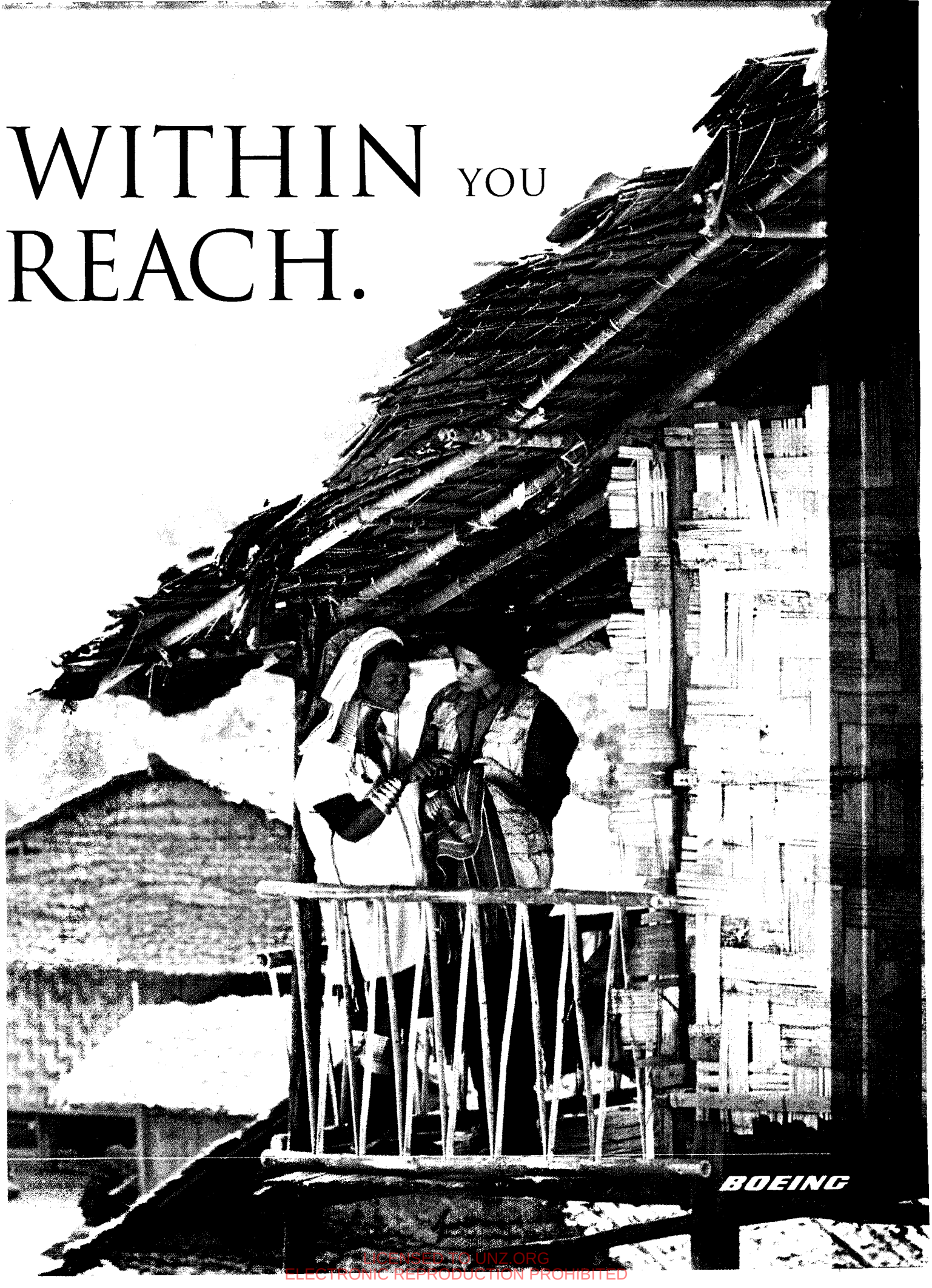

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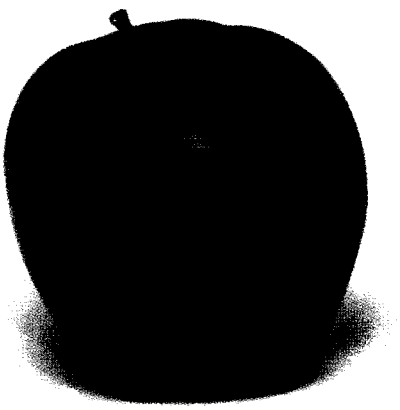

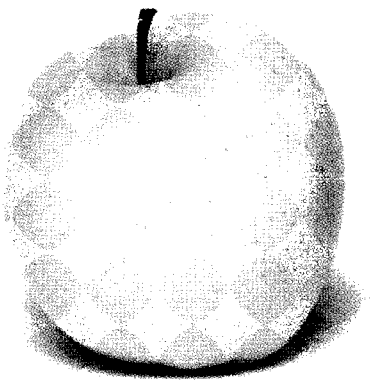

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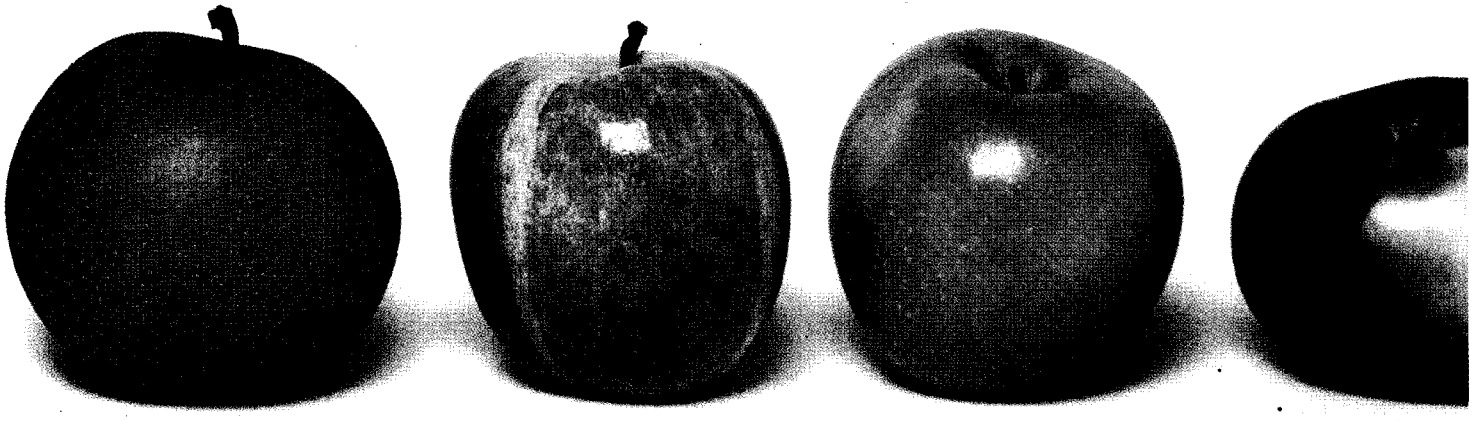
Teachers, like students, come in all colors.



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FROM THE EDITOR

Speaking Candidly . . .

■ It turned out roughly as *NR* predicted: a discounted victory for President Clinton, and a surprising win for Republicans in Congress. So Mr. Clinton's win was a letdown for supporters, the GOP's success a relief.

Hence the title of this special recriminations issue is "Who Lost the White House?" and not, as we feared it might be, "Who Lost America?" For the result was indeed a loss, not an inevitability. As psephologist Pat Reddy pointed out some issues ago, almost all the raw materials for a Republican win were present.

In its closing days, Mr. Dole fought a dignified and gallant campaign. He may well have contributed to the GOP's retention of Congress. All the same, the GOP campaign threw a good chance away. Our criticisms are harsh, but not undeserved. The first requirement of a general, in politics as in war, is success.

What is especially disquieting is that this is the second needless loss in two presidential elections. We dramatize this point by running the same cover a second time: namely Nick Garland's brilliant parody of a Peter Arno cartoon of a defeated boxer and his manager. The caption is different from our 1992 version—and, of course, Bush and Baker have been replaced by Dole and Kemp.

Suggestions, please, as to whom Nick will be caricaturing for our 2000 version. On present trends.

■ We appear therefore as the candid friend—never a popular role. W. S. Gilbert created such a figure in King Gama (allegedly a self-portrait) in the operetta *Princess Ida* (a still topical parody of academic feminism, by the way) and gave him this self-revelatory lyric:

To compliments inflated I've a withering reply;
And vanity I always do my best to mortify;
A charitable action I can skillfully dissect;
And interested motives I'm delighted to detect;
I know everybody's income and what everybody earns;
And I carefully compare it with the income-tax returns;
But to benefit humanity however much I plan,
Yet everybody says I'm such a disagreeable man!
And I can't think why.

And as G. K. Chesterton later pointed out, the candid friend is not always candid. He is concealing his own pleasure in bringing the bad news and in the distress that his candor provokes.

Does this imputation apply to the editors of *NR*? Perish the thought.

■ An English friend, by inclination John Bull, telephoned to complain that the next Euro-intrusion into British life was to be Continental Time. Since this would mean rising at six in the morning, he felt more than usually patriotic and wanted a good slogan against it.

"Stop it NOW—before it's too early," I suggested.

In advertising, they pay millions for that kind of thing. Heigh-ho.

■ Two new contributing editors have joined NATIONAL REVIEW. They are Allan H. Meltzer, the stratospherically distinguished economist (acting member of President Reagan's Council of Economic Advisors, visiting fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, etc., etc.), and John Dizard, a/k/a Gekko.

Professor Meltzer, a member of that select company of good economists who write good English (President: Milton Friedman; Treasurer: Gordon Tullock), will contribute signed articles and unsigned editorials to *NR* at intervals, and Mr. Dizard, whom Bill Buckley describes as the only financial writer he has ever been able to understand, will write occasional longer pieces on finance and politics in addition to his column.

They will greatly strengthen *NR*'s coverage of the economy. I am delighted to welcome them. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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FOR THE RECORD

■ In his successful re-election bid **Bill Clinton** picked up enough new support among women, Catholics, Hispanics, and young voters to offset losses with other groups from 1992, as *Washington Post*'s **Thomas Edsall** points out. For instance, Clinton won among women by a margin 9 points larger than in 1992, enough to offset 4-point decline in his male vote. House Democrats, on the other hand, won no new support from women while dropping stunning 13 points among men. . . . **Cokie Roberts** on causes of the gender gap: "It's never been about abortion, it's never been about the ERA, all of that. . . . The group most pro-choice in the country is young men between the ages of 18 and 35." . . . *Washington Post* columnist **E. J. Dionne** argues Clinton's coalition is more liberal than **Jimmy Carter**'s: Carter won 71 per cent of self-described liberals, Clinton 78 per cent. Carter won 29 per cent of conservatives, Clinton 20 per cent. . . . According to post-election survey by **Kellyanne Fitzpatrick**'s Washington-based Polling Company, Clinton and Dole split the much-discussed "soccer moms," 48 to 48; a majority of soccer moms supported GOP congressional candidates, 51 to 43. . . . Clinton won voters who say crime and drugs should be a top priority of Congress by stunning 56–36 margin. . . . Report in *Wall Street Journal* details what attention White House paid to moving to the center on crime. It set up a "war room" devoted to winning the endorsement of the Fraternal Order of Police, while Clinton personally schmoozed officials of the organization. In contrast, **Dole** campaign reportedly denied FOP's request to meet with Dole.

■ Stay tuned: Speaker **Newt Gingrich** tells *Congressional Quarterly* that rehabilitating his image could take as long as twenty years. . . . Amid grumbling over Gingrich in GOP ranks, some Democrats float wild idea of electing Rep. **Michael Castle** (R., Del.), a leading GOP moderate, in a bi-partisan vote. . . . Rep. **John Linder** (R., Ga.), an ally of Gingrich, is appointed new chairman of National Republican Congressional Committee to replace Rep. **Bill Paxon** (R., N.Y.). . . . Massachusetts Gov. **William Weld**—who went out of his way to defend Clinton Administration on Whitewater in just-concluded Senate campaign—is angling to be attorney general or land a high-ranking spot in State Department in second Clinton Administration. . . . Outgoing Republican National Committee Chairman **Haley Barbour** scores big business for its lack of support of Republicans during campaign. According to Barbour, the Business Roundtable, the flagship organization of big business, "did not lift a finger in the battle [for Congress] and actually helped Clinton in 1995 by conferring legitimacy on his claims to be a supporter of the balanced budget." . . . In the early running to replace Barbour as new RNC chairman: retiring New Hampshire Gov. **Steve Merrill**, Michigan GOP chairman **Betsy DeVos** (wife of Amway executive **Dick DeVos**), RNC general counsel **David Norcross**, Michigan RNC member **Chuck Yob**, **Lynne Cheney** (wife of **Dick**), and Colorado RNC member **Jim Nicholson**. Conservative weekly *Human Events* floats name of **Tom Pauken**, sharp chairman of Texas GOP.

■ According to **John** and **Mary Markle** Foundation survey of campaign coverage by networks, Clinton received balanced coverage with 50 per cent of on-air evaluations of him positive; however, 2 out of every 3 evaluations of Bob Dole were negative. The result was the same as in 1992, when Clinton received 52 per cent positive evaluations, **Bush** received just 29 per cent. . . . **Howard Kurtz** reveals in *Washington Post* that *New York Times* reporter **Jeff Gerth** researched story on Indonesian–Democratic National Committee connection last year but never wrote it. *LA Times* killed stories about the affair in 1993 and 1994. . . . ABC News White House correspondent **Brit Hume** is reported to be tired of his beat and may even leave network altogether. . . . CIA director **John Deutch**, attending town meeting in Watts to respond to charges that Agency spread crack in inner cities in 1980s, is shouted at by profane, angry crowd. . . . In news to **Jesse Helms**, **Karen Finley**, performance artist famous for smearing chocolate on herself, writes in *New York Times* that "There is no more NEA, ladies and gentlemen. It is now merely a façade."

"Your résumé is a little unclear about what you did before you, quote-unquote, 'sold out to the establishment,' Mr. Youtle."

■ Moscow is opening a full-fledged diplomatic mission in Taipei with former diplomat **Vladimir Malyshev** to promote trade there. Russia–Taiwan trade already reached $1.8 billion in first six months of 1996. . . . British Prime Minister **John Major**, fighting the European Union's attempt to impose a 48-hour maximum work week on Britain, threatens to block expansion of EU eastward, high on German Chancellor **Helmut Kohl**'s agenda. . . . With Singapore facing its worst recession in a decade, Senior Minister **Lee Kwan Yew**, bitter critic of West, is in U.S. mending fences. . . . Philippines' former first lady **Imelda Marcos**, now a congressman and free on bail, has lost another appeal against a 24-year prison sentence for corruption but can take it to the Philippine supreme court. . . . South African President **Nelson Mandela** sends his private secretary—who went public with a nude magazine pose—back to the typing pool. . . . An uncensored edition of **D. H. Lawrence**'s *Lady Chatterley's Lover* has gone on sale in Japan for first time in 46 years. . . . Lebanese censors have cut scenes from *Independence Day* that identify the movie's hero, **David Levinson**, as Jewish.

■ In *U.S. News* satire, **Christopher Buckley** predicts that in 1999 **Jack Kemp** will sign on as chairman of **Gore** for President Campaign, "declaring that he's 'too darn fond of Al' to run against him."

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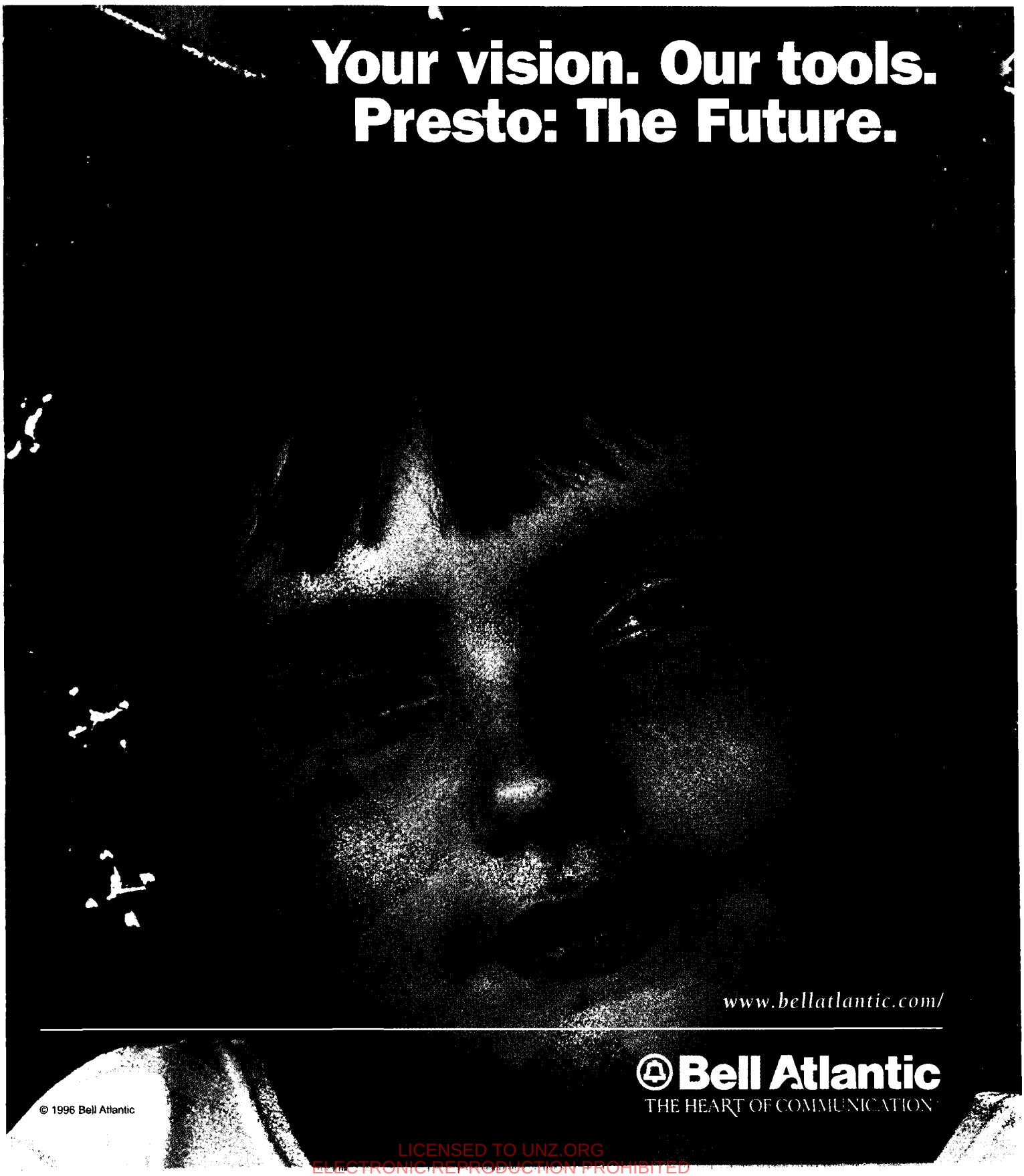

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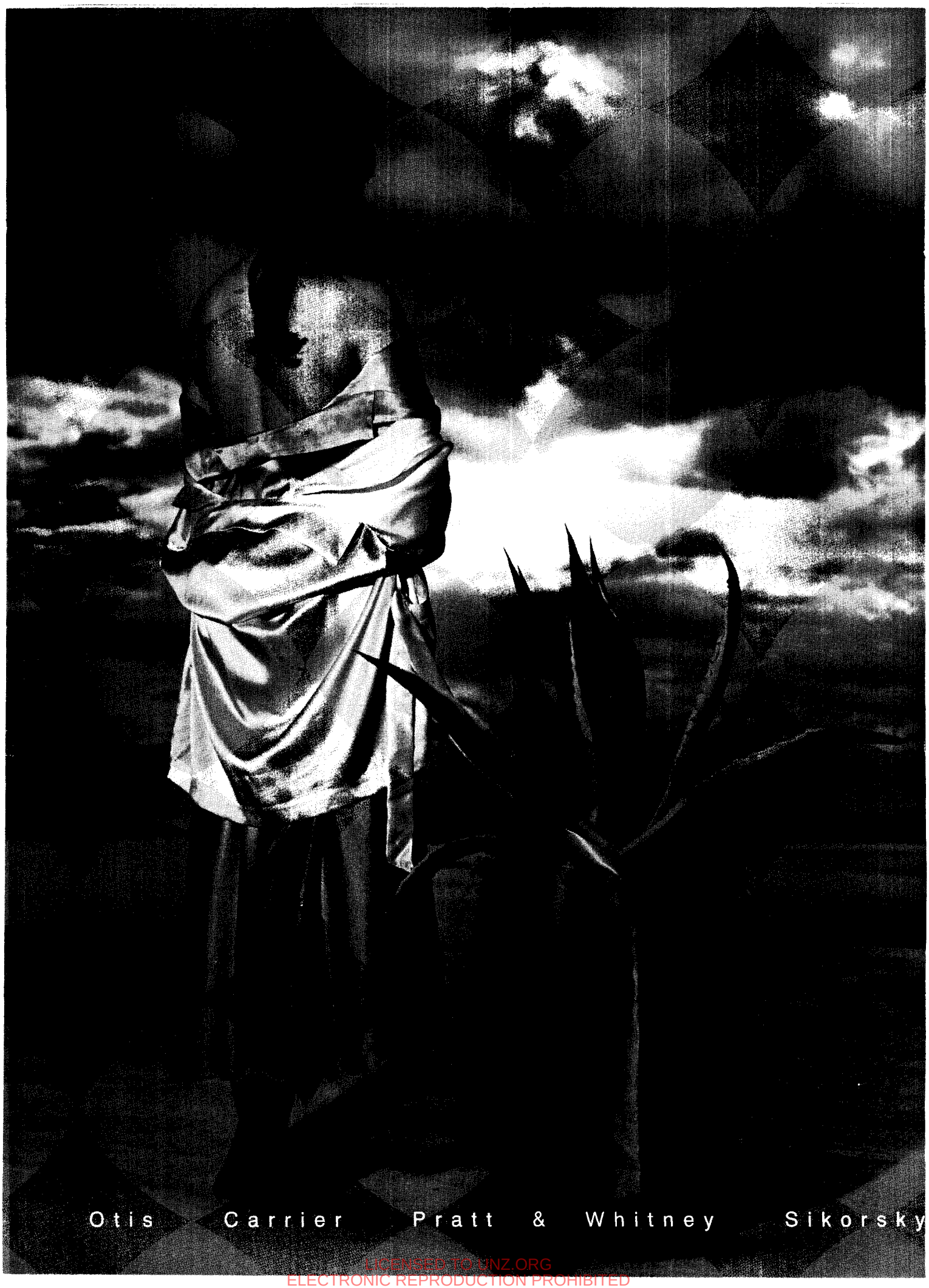

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THE WEEK

■ Alger Hiss was the last surviving law clerk of Oliver Wendell Holmes, who certainly had a long and varied career, since he had also known John Quincy Adams. To put it another way, Justice Holmes knew men who worked for George Washington, and for Stalin.

■ Of course there's a mandate from the election, all the poohbahs of punditry tell us: for campaign-finance reform. There are just a couple of problems with this notion. 1) Voters don't care about finance reform, as they proved once again by handily re-electing Sen. Mitchell McConnell (R., Ky.), who regularly kills reform bills (and is promising to do so again this year). 2) The Democratic National Committee shenanigans that sparked the latest calls for reform are *already* illegal. What advocates of reform like Bill Bradley and the *New York Times* really want is a stifled public debate in which their voices will have less competition from grubby special interests like, say, small businesses, homeowners, political parties, etc. Their favorite vehicle is the bi-partisan McCain–Feingold bill, which would ban PACs, eliminate issues advocacy (e.g., Christian Coalition voter guides), and impose "voluntary" spending limits on Senate campaigns. Huge chunks of the bill are plainly unconstitutional. And its effect would be to shut out ordinary citizens—who band together in groups like the National Right to Life PAC to increase their clout—from the political process. Senator McConnell, over to you.

■ An AP poll conducted between October 18 and 22 asked six questions, one of them being whether Republican actions on cutting taxes, balancing the budget, reforming welfare, and shifting power from Washington to the states had gone too far, struck the right balance, or not gone far enough. Responses were as follows: 24 per cent, gone too far; 15 per cent, struck the right balance; 46 per cent, not gone far enough. In the AP summary report, the results of this question alone were (predictably?) excluded.

■ Republicans still don't have it quite right: rumor has it that their next presidential campaign will be targeted at polo moms.

■ New Hampshire, the Granite State, has long been, well, a rock and a stronghold of a certain kind of conservatism, and so, on election night, the question was widely asked, "What is happening to New Hampshire?" For the first time in a quarter-century a Democrat, Jeanne Shaheen, had won the governorship, and a Democrat, Dick Swett, was erroneously projected by the TV networks as upsetting incumbent Republican conservative Sen. Bob Smith. In fact, Smith won, and New Hampshire retains two conservative senators (Smith and Judd Gregg) and two conservative representatives (Charles Bass and John Sununu Jr.). Yes, Clinton beat Dole. But Dole has never, ever won in New Hampshire. He had lost primaries to Reagan, Bush, and even Buchanan. Then he lost to Clinton. The gubernatorial race is instructive. Jeanne Shaheen ran as a conservative, taking the "pledge" not to try to introduce a state income or state sales tax. New Hampshire remains conservative, with a strong libertarian streak.

■ When David Brinkley went to the White House to interview President Clinton, did he take the opportunity to ask for his FBI file back?

■ When the Supreme Court, in *Bush* v. *Vera* and *Shaw* v. *Hunt*, declared racially gerrymandered congressional districts unconstitutional, Jesse Jackson screamed, "Ethnic cleansing!" America is so racist, went the Jackson logic, that black congressmen would lose their seats if forced to run in predominantly white districts. When Abigail Thernstrom of the Manhattan Institute dissented, liberals assailed her suggestion that we should have a color-blind society as further evidence of bigotry. Mrs. Thernstrom was vindicated on November 5, when all five black representatives who sought re-election in new, white-majority districts in the South won handily. The results are impressive, most notably in the cases of Cynthia McKinney (D., Ga.), who took 58 per cent of the vote in a district that is 35 per cent black, and Sheila Jackson Lee (D., Tex.), who took 77 per cent against multiple opponents in a 42 per cent black district. What's surprising is not that so many Americans voted for blacks, but that they voted for Democrats.

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■ Mr. Clinton took the leadership on a Balanced Budget Amendment, announcing that he's for it and that he's against it—in that order, we think, but maybe the other way around.

■ In *NR*'s November 11 issue, Immigration and Naturalization Commissioner Doris M. Meissner denied that there was anything wrong with letting the White House use her agency to create armies of Instant Democrats in time for the presidential election, as reported by Thomas McArdle (*NR*, July 1). Meanwhile, an uncritical profile of Mrs. Meissner appeared in the *New York Times Magazine* on October 27. "We are a society committed to equal opportunity," she told the *Times Magazine* reporter, "and in 1965 we rejected national origins as a basis of immigration." It is significant that Mrs. Meissner would justify the disastrous 1965 Immigration Act by projecting America's domestic civil-rights struggle onto the logically quite distinct issue of immigration policy. Shakespeare's soldier famously sought "the bubble reputation/Even in the cannon's mouth." But where does Mrs. Meissner propose to pursue the demon Racism—and can America survive her fixation?

■ With the election past and relations with a Republican Congress ahead, President Clinton allows that the two parties are close in their ideas for reforming Medicare. He finally admits, in other words, that the Democrats are just as interested in kicking seniors out of their homes and taking their medicine away as Republicans.

■ Carl Lischeske of the California Health Department was astonished to read a "Fact Sheet" from the U.S. Interior Department on low-level nuclear waste. It said that 98 per cent of radioactive materials needing disposal came from nuclear-power plants. In fact, the majority of nuclear waste comes from hospitals, the end product of radiation therapy. Lischeske traced the 98 per cent figure to a protest group which cited no source. He then found that the U.S. Department of Energy database on low-level waste showed that less than a third of wastes are from nuclear utilities. He wrote the U.S. Interior Department: "Rather than accepting information provided by anti-nuclear activists without question you may want to consider utilizing instead the information services provided by the U.S. Department of Energy and the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission . . ." No answer yet. It's a new resource-use program: recycling Green propaganda.

■ The President further allows that there are no big differences between the parties on such issues as the environment, education, and welfare. Fine. It's about time the Democrats pitched in and did their share of poisoning the land and sea, trampling women's reproductive rights, throwing welfare moms into the gutter, and making starving schoolchildren memorize the multiplication tables.

■ The great power-line debate is over. The National Academy of Sciences has released a report on a review of 500 studies done over the last 17 years; the report concluded that there is no evidence that power lines, or electromagnetic fields, cause cancer. A 1979 study indicating a link between childhood leukemia and power lines launched the debate; in the early 1990s *New Yorker* author Paul Brodeur whipped up a public frenzy which resulted in million-dollar reconfigurations of power lines, lawsuits against cellular-phone companies, and a moralistic film comedy on the subject by Eddie Murphy. But sacred cows die hard, and doomsayers have now pinned their hopes on power surges. While scientific evidence does indicate a marginal correlation between childhood leukemia and proximity to power lines, the causes for this could be as diverse as traffic levels near power lines, older houses near power lines, less affluent families near power lines, and so on. But exhaustive research has concluded that the one thing that does not cause cancer near power lines is power lines.

■ Would the last person to leave the Clinton Administration please turn off the shredder?

African Rundown

The Hutu hate the Tutsi:
The short detest the tall.
Rwanda hates Burundi.
Uganda hates them all.
Zaïre is decomposing.
Mobutu's being nursed.
If I were Mr. Clinton,
I'd save the District first.

—W. H. VON DREELE

Off the Third Rail

THERE are three competing camps among Republicans considering the reform of middle-class entitlements. Some, particularly moderates, want to do the responsible thing and keep pushing spending curbs, perhaps establishing a bi-partisan commission with the President for that purpose. A second camp, made up of Machiavellian conservatives, has no intention of playing Charlie Brown to President Clinton's Lucy; in the aftermath of a yearlong MediScare campaign, these Republicans (including Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott) are inclined to let the President make the first, politically dangerous, moves. Finally, there are the ideological crusaders, chiefly in conservative and libertarian think tanks,

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Encouraging News On U.S.-Japan Trade

Less than two years ago, the U.S. and Japan were at such loggerheads over trade that Washington was threatening trade sanctions. Now we are working hard together to build a bridge to freer and fairer trade—one that will enable both our nations to cross into the 21st century with even stronger and more stable economies.

While the U.S. trade deficit with Japan still remains high, the trend is now much more favorable. Last year, for example, U.S. exports to Japan increased at an annual rate of 20.3%, while Japan's exports to the U.S. grew by only 2.8%. In such fields as chemicals and medical equipment, where the U.S. enjoys a significant market share of the Japanese market, sales by American companies there have increased by 80% and 50% respectively, since 1992. Trade figures for this year show a similarly encouraging pattern.

Greater value consciousness and changing lifestyles in Japan have also helped create demand for a variety of U.S. products, from Jeeps and sporting goods to casual apparel. U.S. retailers like the GAP and L.L. Bean, taking advantage of these changes, are doing well there. And these and other U.S. companies have even helped to expand demand through customer-oriented products and skillful marketing.

While not all of the problems have been solved, the U.S.-Japan trade picture is definitely looking better. And with continued efforts and cooperation, companies and consumers on both sides of the Pacific can look forward to further gains.

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who want to go full speed ahead on Medicare and to privatize Social Security for an encore.

Each approach has its appeal, each its dangers. The Machiavellians are right in saying that runaway entitlement spending is a problem liberal Democrats created for themselves; it is chiefly a threat to the discretionary programs they cherish. However, the fiscal and economic consequences of letting these programs continue on autopilot would be nothing short of catastrophic. A bi-partisan commission is politically comforting, but the one that "fixed" Social Security in 1983 with a series of regressive tax hikes is not a happy precedent. Finally, the think-tankers are correct to emphasize structural reform—movement toward a new, free-market system, not a temporary bailout of the old one. But the political groundwork has not been laid for any big legislative push on so popular a program as Social Security.

Our advice, then—strictly tactical and temporary—is to split the differences among these approaches. On Medicare, Sen. Lott is correct in his tactical judgment that President Clinton must present a credible plan to make the necessary savings, and get most congressional Democrats on board, before any negotiations begin. The general principle should be to hold firm on real Medical Savings Accounts while compromising where necessary on spending levels. On Social Security, the immediate task is intellectual and educational. The necessity for reform should be widely publicized, as should the advantages of following the example of Chile's Social Security privatization. At the same time, reformers must block proposals to allow the Federal Government to invest trillions of dollars from pension funds in stocks—lest the program's woes become an excuse for the Left to advance its longtime goal of state control of the capital markets.

Gentlemen, to your oars.

Quota End Game

THE Texaco boycott is a museum exhibit of racial posturing at the end of the era of quotas. In the midst of a lawsuit alleging racial discrimination, a taped conversation of Texaco executives surfaced, which seemed to include the word "nigger" and a sneer about black jellybeans.

First on the scene was racial ambulance-chaser Jesse Jackson. Reverend Jackson, who once called New York "Hymietown," is not the most obvious candidate for chief language cop—but that didn't slow him down. Then came Texaco chairman Peter Bijur, trying to contain the damage by high-mindedly throwing his employees to the wolves. Cant in the service of cowardice was bad enough. But when a re-examination of the tapes showed that the killer word "nigger" had not in fact been uttered, the sleek Mr. Bijur did not call his employees back. Why should a man without honor show fair play?

The lawsuit combines accusations of specific acts of discrimination, and arguments based on supposed patterns of discrimination (viz., that out of almost nine hundred top Texaco executives, only six are black). The specific accusations may or may not be more compelling than the garbled tape. The argument from statistics is not compelling at all, ignoring as it does a host of contingencies. (How many potential black executives are there in the oil business? Are too many blacks being sucked into Egyptology and diversity consulting?) Head-counting is an invitation to quota specialists to practice their arts.

Big business has been, after government, the foremost patron of quotas and the diversity industry. Large corporations view them as a cost of doing business, like bribery abroad. Indeed, the reference to "black jellybeans" was an allusion to a lecture by a diversity consultant. One hopes that Texaco feels it has gotten a good return on its investment.

These can all become phantoms at cockcrow, if the political class heeds the message of Proposition 209. The regime of quotas is unjust, it failed, and it is unpopular. As Proposition 209 goes to the courts, Congress should pass an American Civil Rights Initiative. If President Clinton vetoes it, the GOP will pick up a hundred seats in 1998.

Into Africa

THE UN Security Council has approved, the Canadians have offered to lead, and the U.S. has agreed to take part in an emergency force of international peacekeepers on the Rwanda/Zaïre border. President Clinton on November 13 promised a thousand U.S. ground troops and three to four thousand support troops to help restore order in the wake of starvation and massacres.

At this writing the crisis is easing, and the U.S. is scaling back its plans. The larger question, however, remains. Among Africa's fifty sovereign nations are many "failed states" (as the political-science terminology has it). Paul Johnson in these pages (December 14, 1992) noted wryly

The Fall of Harold Ickes

Like Igor serving Frankenstein,
He clung to Clinton like a vine,
Entwining counterclockwise, since
All clockwise motions make him wince.
Alas, it was this leftward tilt
That made the creeper in him wilt,
As Clinton—one eye on the Hill—
Dumped yet another Friend of Bill.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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how radically the tables have turned since the heady days of anticolonialism and decolonization, when the Western powers were told in no uncertain terms that the best thing they could do was get out; now their return is demanded (albeit under UN cover).

One basic ground rule must be that U.S. military forces cannot be drawn into a role of indiscriminate humanitarian interventions. Our troops have other, more central responsibilities and, in this era of tight budgets, are already stretched much too thin. The fiasco in Somalia in 1993—when a dead GI was dragged through the streets in front of the television cameras—is a sample of what can go wrong when the U.S. plunges into a military intervention with little foresight, understanding, or strategic purpose.

If U.S. forces go in (even in a supporting role), we need to think hard about how they are to get out. ("Exit strategy" is another new buzzword.) Are we defining the troops' mission in a way that is achievable in a discrete period of time? Once order is restored and the immediate humanitarian crisis is past, can some structure be left in place to prevent further breakdown? Has the community of nations any mechanisms for brokering peace settlements or enforcing order, perhaps by a longer-term presence of other African peacekeeping forces? (South Africa may be able to play a key role here.) By all means we must avoid grandiose Clintonesque schemes of "nation-building," a Mission Impossible for American troops. And, to repeat, the U.S. cannot be dragged into every such crisis, no matter how nasty the images on the TV screen may be.

Calamity Kate?

OUR very own Kate O'Beirne stirred up a hornet's nest in the last *NR* with her advice to Newt Gingrich that he should consider stepping aside from the Speakership until the flap over the ethics charges against him had been definitively settled. An ideologically diverse handful of House Republicans allowed as how

Right Data

A BORING election? Voter contentment? Or a signal of a broader and potentially destabilizing trend? For whatever reason, just 48.8 per cent of the voting-age population voted on November 5. That's the lowest turnout since 1924, and second lowest since 1824.

Harvard political scientist Robert Putnam contends that Americans are withdrawing into tight circles of family and friends, and putting less time into community activities. Membership in a wide range of organizations—the PTA, the League of Women Voters, the Red Cross, to name a few—is down by a quarter to a half over the past three decades. Daily-newspaper readership, which Putnam finds strongly linked to group membership and voter turnout, is down by nearly half. Membership in church groups fell to 33 per cent in 1994 from 43 per cent in 1974. Overarching everything: a one-third decline in the share of Americans who say they trust other people.

Putnam's numbers show a sharp generational break: "the long civic generation" that was born between 1910 and 1940 was and is far more engaged in civic affairs than those born since World War II. They vote at nearly twice the rate of the youngest cohort (75 per cent compared with 40–45 per cent), and are twice as likely to trust other people. And it's not just that they're older. Surveys show baby-boomers and Generation Xers become *less* trusting as they age.

TUNING IN, TUNING OUT?

	Voting (%)	Reading a Daily Paper (%)	Avg. TV Viewing (hrs./week)	PTA Membership (millions)
1960	62.8	76.0 (est.)	5:06	11.9
1980	52.6	55.3	6:36	6.1
1984	53.1	54.6	7:08	5.4
1988	50.1	50.9	6:59	6.5
1992	55.2	49.3	7:04	6.8
1996	48.8	42.4	7:06	6.5

Source: Committee for Study of the American Electorate; Nielsen Media Research; National PTA; General Social Survey.

Why the sudden decline? Many conservatives believe the welfare state crowded out private initiative. The timing certainly fits, and Putnam acknowledges the rise of single-parent households as a factor in declining social involvement. On the other hand, even happily married couples are less inclined to trust and to join.

Americans work longer hours, and more women work outside the home. Both seem to be obvious candidates. Or are they? In fact employed people belong to somewhat *more* groups than those not in the labor force. Similarly, while working women are likely to join different organizations from the ones housewives join—professional groups rather than PTA—they are actually members of slightly more voluntary organizations.

TV is part of the problem, according to Putnam. In 1950, barely 10 per cent of households had TV; by 1959, 90 per cent did, probably the fastest introduction of a technological innovation ever recorded. In the beginning TV watching was concentrated among the less educated segments of the population. Over time, educated people acquired the habit. Unlike newspapers and radio, TV squelches participation outside the home. TV watchers are couch potatoes. And, according to Putnam, merely spending time in front of the set destroys civic life, whether you watch *The 700 Club* or *Murphy Brown*. Taste matters less than time.

Putnam's data are often suspect, however. Many of the sharp drops occur only after he adjusts for educational levels. (In the past, better-educated people have belonged to more groups.) Even raw data can be misleading. "Voting Age Population," for example, includes 11 million aliens and 2 million felons. Neither group is supposed to be able to vote.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

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Post-Campaign Bosnia

The fighting was narrowly nipped.
They must be aware of the script—
The one Mr. Clinton
Pursues as the Minton,
The Dresden and Sèvres get chipped.

—W. H. VON DREELE

there might be something in this—but their comment served mainly to provoke an official display of Republican loyalty. The entire House leadership issued a joint statement endorsing the Speaker's re-election; the *Wall Street Journal* weighed in with an editorial describing Mrs. O'Beirne's "Bread & Circuses" column as a call to "burn the Speaker . . . at the stake"; and a few Gingrich loyalists refused to shake such NATIONAL REVIEW staffers' hands as were stretched out to them that week. Calm down, gentlemen. The iceberg is a small one and has been pinpointed on the radar screen. There is really no need for the ship's officers to hold a revival hymn-singing session in the first-class lounge.

The following argument may serve as smelling salts. The ethics charges that have been leveled against Mr. Gingrich, *even if they are wholly false*, can nonetheless be employed by the Democrats and the media to paralyze the House majority and to distract public attention from President Clinton's genuine ethical lapses. That is the simple unpleasant truth about today's Washington; it will not cease to be true because Republicans curse the fact. Mrs. O'Beirne addressed this problem *from the Speaker's standpoint.* She pointed out that he risked being "bled to political death" if he remained. There were obvious risks in stepping aside, even temporarily, until the ethics question had been settled. But there were benefits too: namely, that he would transform the public's perception of himself from that of a narrow partisan clinging to power, to that of someone large and generous enough to put his party before his own interests. She even compared him to Churchill and de Gaulle as statesmen who had benefited from a period in the wings of politics. How that translates into being burned at the stake beats us.

Newt Gingrich's achievement in bringing the House Republicans out of the wilderness has given him the right and the power to decide whether to remain at the helm. He has now decided to stay on, which suggests that he believes he can indeed see off the ethics charges without much difficulty. The rallying round of Republicans in the last week commits them to supporting him when he comes under attack.

But there is an irony in this near-unanimous GOP support. It includes many congressmen who have spent the last six months running away from Mr. Gingrich as fast as their little legs would carry them. It has been "Newt Who?" and "I know not the Speaker" from sea to shining sea. Very well. Needs must when the Devil drives. But with the Speaker about to come under renewed Democratic and media assault, now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the party. House Republicans cannot rally round today and become conscientious objectors tomorrow.

Should they lack ammunition, they might consult the articles, written by a distinguished lawyer and published in NATIONAL REVIEW last year, that scrupulously examined the initial ethics charges against Mr. Gingrich, found them wanting, and indicted the Democrats for a combination of frivolity and character assassination.

Joseph Bernardin, RIP

JOSEPH Cardinal Bernardin, Archbishop of Chicago, died, after a struggle with pancreatic cancer, like a Christian—bravely, patiently, and trusting in the One Who had died to save him. He also made a last public gesture, writing a letter to the Supreme Court on the subject of assisted suicide. "There can be no such thing as a right to assisted suicide because there can be no legal and moral order which tolerates the killing of innocent human life." By holding the law to a higher standard, Cardinal Bernardin blew through the rhetoric of radical autonomy so favored by the courts today.

The Cardinal was reflecting the outrage of Catholic bishops over recent assaults on life, including President Clinton's veto of the ban on partial-birth abortions. The bishops' outrage does not have much political effect these days, even among Catholics—53 per cent of whom voted for Clinton. One reason is that the bishops have blunted their message by committing themselves to an array of opinions, including liberal views on welfare and capital punishment, without establishing a clear hierarchy among them, so that not killing murderers seemed to be as important to them as not killing fetuses. The main architect of that strategy—called the "seamless garment"—was Cardinal Bernardin. His faith must, and surely will, redeem his judgment.

Alger Hiss, RIP

THOSE of us involved, however indirectly, in the Hiss case waited with some curiosity to see how his death would be handled in the paper of record, the *New York Times*. The story was written by Janny Scott, and curiosity was justified. The headline on page 1:

ALGER HISS, DIVISIVE ICON OF COLD WAR, DIES AT 92

And, on the jump page, border to border,

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Alger Hiss, Whose Spy Case Became a Symbol of the Cold War, Is Dead at 92

The reader had to wait until the sixth paragraph to be informed that Hiss "was convicted of perjury." The ensuing 68 paragraphs were given over to detailing both sides of the question on Alger Hiss. The writer did record the brief appearances on the scene of the Soviet general (Volkogonov) whose nonchalant statement (prompted by a Hiss devotee) to the effect that the KGB files had no evidence that Hiss had served as a Soviet agent had done an overnight facelift on the tatterdemalion Hiss loyalists. The general went on to divulge a few weeks later that he hadn't examined all the files. And yes, the *Times* story recorded all the legal appeals Hiss had made and lost; it informed the readers that biographer Allen Weinstein had begun his scholarly book on the case thinking Hiss innocent, but then changed his views as his research progressively undermined, and then collapsed, the Hiss case.

But the reader is left to conclude, after reading the long article, that in fact what we have here is nothing more than that some say tomato, some say tomahto. Indeed, we were specifically invited to think of it as in the category of the assassination of Kennedy and the murder of O. J. Simpson's wife and her friend. Some people say Oswald did it, and did it alone. Some people think O. J. did it; some, including the jurors, think he didn't do it. One wonders how the headlines would have read in 1935. "Alfred Dreyfus, Divisive Icon of Pre-War France, Dies at 76." "Alfred Dreyfus, Whose Spy Case Became a Symbol of French Confusion, Is Dead at 76."

THE final paragraphs in the long story read: "Looking back, those who believe that Mr. Hiss was not guilty insisted he would never have accepted their support all those years had he not been telling the truth. In his long insistence, they found final proof. They said he had lived his life like an innocent man.

"As William F. Buckley Jr., the founder of NATIONAL REVIEW, who viewed Whittaker Chambers as a moral hero and never doubted Hiss's guilt, put it recently: 'It's probably understandable that he would feel that he had let too many people down.' "

Back then, senior editors of NATIONAL REVIEW—James Burnham, Frank Meyer, Willi Schlamm, Priscilla Buckley—felt a personal involvement in the Hiss case, first as champions of Whittaker Chambers, later as colleagues. He came to NATIONAL REVIEW as a senior editor in 1957, arriving regularly in New York on fortnightly Mondays, until illness got the better of him (he died in July 1961). When Hiss was released from prison in 1954, the counteroffensive came in full thunder—legal appeals, books by his own hand, others by his sympathizers. The appeals failed, one after another, and the books were, one after another, overwhelmed. The forthcoming biography of Chambers by Sam Tanenhaus (a main selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club for April) will quiet anyone who has a remaining doubt.

Should there be such?

No, not really. Miss Scott of the *New York Times* was right to wonder why Mr. Hiss persisted in affirming his innocence. His supporters had the most obvious answer: To affirm one's innocence is what an innocent person does. My observation to the *New York Times* was to the effect that there is the other explanation, namely that Alger Hiss didn't want to let down his old dogged, loyal followers.

But there is a third explanation for his surviving followers, which is that, in silence, they came first to doubt, then to disbelieve; but pride kept them in the Hiss camp. To have crossed that aisle would have been to acknowledge a weakness of mind or of character. Some years ago, exasperated by yet one more curtain call taken in his magazine by a Hiss trouper, I wrote to the editor (an acquain-

The Week in Verse

The *S.S. Dole* went down, but, like a cork,
The *Captain* soon popped up—live from *New York*.
Politically, it's true, his goose is cooked,
But as a TV star he's fully booked.
Poor *Clinton's* stuck with governing and *Gore*,
As half his aides, it seems, lunge for the door:
Panetta, *Reich*, and *Tyson* claim they yearn
For easier lives, while *Christopher's* burn-
Out, and (he's used to it) poor *Perry* waits his turn.
At *Commerce*, *Kantor*? If you slip him mickeys;
And no one knows what's happened to poor *Ickes*.
But all of these are nothing to the loss
To broadcast fame of *Stephanopoulos*:
How many useless *Renos* he'd disgorge
If only *Bill* could keep by him wee *George*!
What ever next? The good ship *Democrat*
Is steaming briskly from a sinking rat.

But still th' Administration has its fans
In weak and mushy-spined *Republicans*,
As *Cohen* (*Powell*?) to help can hardly wait
While *Newt* is ready to co-operate,
All in the name and int'rest, don't you see,
Of that most worthy thing: *Civility*.

Already foreign policy's more clear;
Our fighting men are going to *Zaïre*
To feed the hungry, act as a restraint
On rebel arms—that is, unless they ain't,
For *Tutsi* tribesmen stepped into their job
And killed the thugs who'd tried to run the mob,
While grateful refugees returned safe home
Ahead of cruel *Starvation's* first prodrome.
It seemed a slightly scandalous solution—
Outside the law and eke the *Constitution*—
Were 't not that some allowance must be made
For those too primitive to be afraid
Of sexual harassment more than a cannonade.

—JUVENAL

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tance) and told him I would send him or his charity one thousand simoleons if he would submit to a truth test whose findings documented that he truly believed Hiss innocent. He changed the subject.

Pride could account for the loyalty of the followers. But what, other than reciprocal loyalty, might account for Hiss's persistence?

There remains the reasoning of Nikolai Bukharin. In 1957, Chambers wrote me that he had been pondering two quotations. The second "is from Bukharin's last words [in 1938] to the court which condemned him to death. I do not understand how men, knowing that, in our own lifetime, another man spoke these words at such a moment, can read them and fail to be rent apart by their meanings. Yet these words are scarcely known. I would print them bold and hang them at the front of college classrooms, not to be explained as a text, but to be seen often and quietly reflected on. Bukharin, it must be remembered, is literally innocent [of the crimes imputed to him by Stalin]. . . . It is his uncommitted crime that he pleads guilty to. He said: 'I shall now speak of myself, of the reasons for my repentance. . . . For when you ask yourself: If you must die, what are you dying for?—an absolutely black vacuity suddenly rises before you with startling vividness. There was nothing to die for if one wanted to die unrepentant. This, in the end, disarmed me completely and led me to bend my knees before the Party and the country. . . . At such moments, Citizen Judges, everything personal, all personal incrustation, all rancor, pride, and a number of other things, fall away, disappear. I am about to finish. I am perhaps speaking for the last time in my life.'

"Is there not a stillness in the room," Chambers closed, "where you read this? That is the passing of the wings of tragedy."

I have from time to time thought that one measure of Alger Hiss as a man should never be overlooked. It is that he won the devotion of Whittaker Chambers, who knew him as friend and fellow conspirator. By continuing to plead not guilty, Alger Hiss was performing for his faith the same sacrifice Bukharin made by pleading guilty.

—WFB

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Memo to: WFB
From: JO'S
Re: NATIONAL REVIEW "official" policies

Dear Bill: As you know, Kate O'Beirne's column in the last issue, in which she made the case for Newt Gingrich's stepping down as Speaker of the House, got much national attention, much of it passing along the news that NATIONAL REVIEW had come out for Newt's withdrawal.

Readers do not always distinguish between the magazine's corporate views and the views of contributors, especially when those contributors are senior editors and regular correspondents of the magazine. Major newspapers and networks seem hardly aware of distinctions we think of as basic. It was because of this that I thought to make the clarification in the editorial section ["Calamity Kate?" p. 20] to the effect that we were not disavowing Newt Gingrich.

But we are not disavowing Kate either. We need to devise a short statement taking these sorts of ambiguities into account. We might then publish it as a general statement of editorial arrangements, incorporating it into press releases we send out, as appropriate, and sending it to readers who wonder or complain. Best, John

Dear John: Yes, I understand. We have run into the problem in the past.

1. NATIONAL REVIEW encourages the ventilation of views and the articulation of opinions by people who write for us. They are, in general, conservatives in political orientation, but often, usually for reasons apparent, we depart from this rule, as for instance when we published the views of several prominent liberals in our issue on drug policy.

2. The corporate positions of the magazine are given in the editorial pages. It is accurate to report, "*NR* believes . . ." only when what is then quoted is taken from these pages.

3. The tradition at *NR* has for decades observed the privilege of a senior editor to take issue with positions advanced in the editorial pages, under the logo, "The Open Question." The correct way for the press to have handled the situation last week would have been, "*NR*'s Washington Editor, Kate O'Beirne, has recommended the (temporary) retirement of Speaker Newt Gingrich." Such reporters might have added, "in a persuasive and readable dispatch by that wonderful, talented woman."

That ought to do it, don't you think? Best, Bill

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Although your recent interview with *The University Bookman* satisfied for the most part my curiosity about your writing, one question remains unanswered. Mind you, it is a velleity as curiosities go: Do you write on tablets of colored paper or use a word-processing computer? If the latter, what is your favorite program; if the former, what is your favorite shade? Best regards,

E. Roberts Horner
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Mr. Horner: I have owned more computers than automobiles. They include Kaypro, Victor, Toshiba, Packard Bell, Dell, Canon, Compaq. I currently make do with two Canons, one Toshiba (laptop), one Packard Bell, and one Compaq. My favorite programs are Magellan, DT Search, Pathminder, the American Heritage Dictionary, and Smartkey. Cordially, **—WFB**

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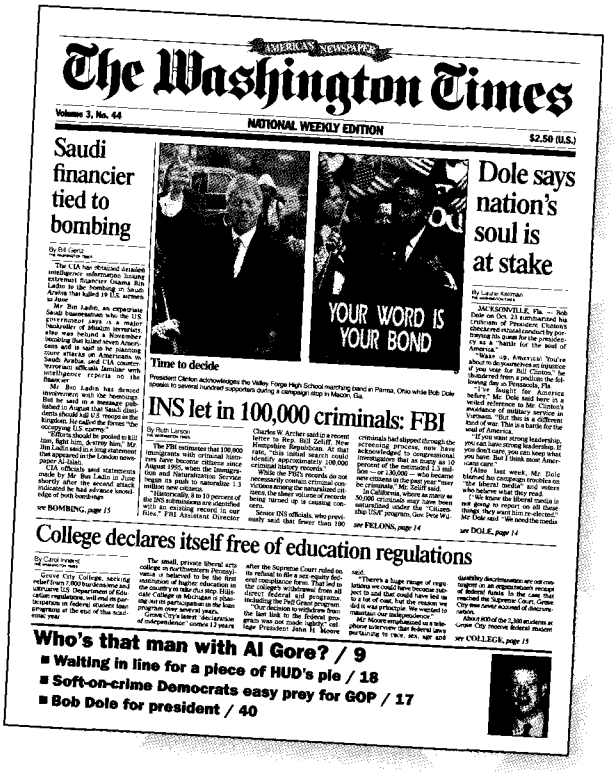
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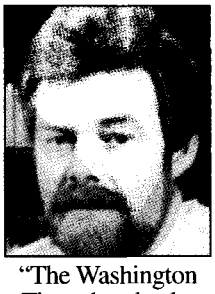

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Beyond Affirmative Action

The triumph of the California Civil Rights Initiative requires a new approach to race in America.

DINESH D'SOUZA

IN THE wake of the success of Proposition 209, championed by Ward Connerly, America is faced with a basic choice: whether to preserve the existing structure of government-sanctioned racial preferences or, like California, opt for a completely different approach. But before adopting a course that will determine the future of race relations into the twenty-first century, Americans must step back from the sound and fury of the affirmative-action debate long enough to consider the four basic policy options for dealing with the continuing problem of racial discrimination.

The first approach is to preserve racial preferences, which are based on the logic of proportional representation. This is the Clinton Administration's present policy, and despite recent Supreme Court decisions, it remains the regnant practice. Our laws expect that, absent discrimination, minorities will fan out into the work force at roughly their proportion in the surrounding population. Companies that fail to achieve the proper ethnic breakdown in their work force are vulnerable to findings of illegal discrimination. Indeed they are guilty until proven innocent: the Civil Rights Act of 1991 places on employers the burden of proving that they are not discriminating.

Proportional representation, and the racial preferences it requires, was perhaps necessary and inevitable in the late 1960s—it sought to eliminate comprehensive discrimination against blacks in many areas, to kick in a closed door. Yet over the past generation the basic flaw in the concept has become apparent. It is based on a non sequitur: racism has historically served as an instrument of enforced group inequality, and therefore outlawing racial discrimination has been expected to produce a distribution approximating racial equality.

UNFORTUNATELY, merit, no less than the old racism, produces inequality—inequality among individuals, and inequality among groups. Therefore there is no reason to expect that equality of rights for individuals necessarily translates into equality of results for groups. If different groups of runners hit the finishing tape at different times, it does not follow that the race has been rigged. Our current civil-rights laws, therefore, are built on an intellectual foundation of quicksand.

In addition, proportional representation fails the test of social justice. Columnist Michael Kinsley is typical of modern liberals in arguing that race is a "rough and ready shorthand for disadvantage," but that facile equation does not hold true any more. When W. E. B. Du Bois wrote in the early part of this century, the vast majority of blacks were indeed poor. But now the black community has bifurcated into a middle class and an underclass. There is no justification for a public university giving an admissions preference to the government official's son who attends an elite private school, just because he belongs to an underrepresented group, over the daughter of an Appalachian coal miner or a Vietnamese refugee.

Mr. D'Souza, who is John M. Olin Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, is the author of The End of Racism, *published in paperback this fall by the Free Press. This is an expanded version of a paper he delivered at a recent Los Angeles conference of the Claremont Institute.*

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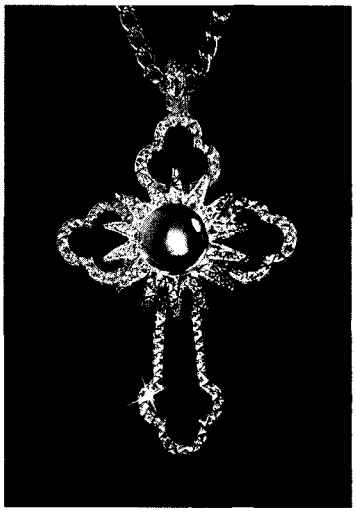

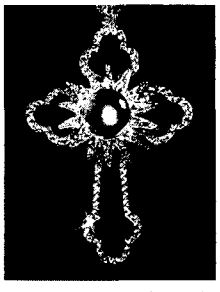

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The only prop sustaining proportional representation today is the liberal conviction that the social outcomes produced by merit alone would prove painful and humiliating for blacks. For example, studies have shown that if the University of California at Berkeley selected students solely on the basis of grades and test scores, the number of blacks admitted would fall from about 6 per cent to between 1 and 2 per cent. Similarly, blacks would be scarce in some professions, and virtually absent from others. Proportional representation will end only when we have the courage to say that we are willing to live with these outcomes, even while promoting school and community reforms that will assist blacks in competing more effectively for the highest rewards of American society.

A second option, favored by some scholars, is to abolish racial preferences for all groups except one: blacks. Legal scholar Andrew Kull writes, "The moral awkwardness of asking black Americans to be content with non-discrimination should not stop us from giving that answer to everyone else." Orlando Patterson, Nathan Glazer, and Eugene Genovese argue that blacks have faced a unique history in this country which places them in a different position from other immigrants. Genovese argues that blacks should be permitted to identify themselves as culturally black and benefit from a carefully selected range of preferences restricted to that group.

This approach has the benefit of acknowledging the absurdity of preferring newcomers from Paraguay over citizens from Peoria. It sensibly seeks to narrow the range of beneficiaries to the group that has suffered the unmitigated evils of slavery and segregation. It would preserve preferences as exceptional, rather than typical. And advocates of this approach emphasize that they continue to view preferences for blacks as temporary and transitional, not permanent.

THE problem with this attractive strategy is that while it has a chance of working in a black-and-white milieu, it is not sustainable in an increasingly multi-racial society. When there are many groups with different ancestral histories, there are bound to be competing claims. These can be rejected out of hand, but if we are going to insist that middle-class blacks deserve preference for admissions and jobs over the poorest members of all other groups, not only will this produce acute resentment, it will probably stigmatize blacks as inherently inferior. Whites, Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans would all be competing together, with a kind of Special Olympics held for blacks. The moral and psychological damage wreaked by such an approach would almost certainly outweigh any tangible short-term benefits. Yet it is worth debating a proposal recently advanced by sociologist Lawrence Fuchs: Limit affirmative action now to blacks and set a date, perhaps 2010, when "all counting by race should be phased out."

The third option is a blanket non-discrimination rule, which establishes a right not to be discriminated against; consequently, it requires the enforcement of color-blind principles in both the private and the public sector. This is the approach that Martin Luther King favored, and the one that was written into law in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Many liberals such as Jim Sleeper, Randall Kennedy, William Julius Wilson, and Clarence Page, as well as conservatives such as Newt Gingrich and Jack Kemp, are trying to revive this approach, which is typically combined with a demand for "class-based" affirmative action.

Socio-economic affirmative action might work if it were pursued in a prudent and targeted manner. Some form of preference is defensible in college admissions, on the grounds that in many cases students from disadvantaged backgrounds have not had the opportunity to demonstrate their true potential. It makes no sense, however, to extend class-based preferences to faculty hiring: colleges cannot hire history and math professors who do not meet the usual standards on the grounds that they are poor. Similarly, the Federal Government can provide set-asides and training programs for the economically disadvantaged, but it defies logic to require companies doing business with the government to hire sub-standard workers simply because they come from impoverished families.

'The moral awkwardness of asking black Americans to be content with non-discrimination should not stop us from giving that answer to everyone else'

Whether accompanied by socio-economic affirmative action or not, the benefit of any non-racial or color-blind approach is that it would use a single standard to implement civil-rights laws. Whites and blacks would enjoy the same degree of protection, and so would other groups. Resources currently invested in promoting proportional representation could be more sensibly invested in strictly enforcing anti-discrimination laws.

One difficulty with a broad-based color-blind rule is that, if applied consistently and even-handedly, it would require the government to outlaw minority companies' giving preferences to members of their own group. Peek into a Korean-owned grocery store and what you often see, in the back, is the predictable sight of other Korean workers. Similarly black-owned businesses may seek out black employees. Should the government prohibit these obvious displays of minority ethnocentrism? Such interference seems entirely unwarranted, particularly considering the fact that earlier generations of ethnic minorities—Jews, Irish, Italians—advanced by helping their own people. Thus, while a broadly enforced color-blind rule is a great improvement over current policy, it is not the best long-term approach for a civil-rights policy that seeks to be principled as well as pragmatic.

The limitations of the previous three policy options invite us to consider a fourth, which is based on the distinction, crucial to a liberal society, between the public and the private sphere. This approach holds the government to a rigorous standard of race-neutrality, while allowing private actors to be free to discriminate as they wish. In practice, this means uncompromising race-neutrality in government hiring and promotion, criminal justice, and the

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The Patriots,

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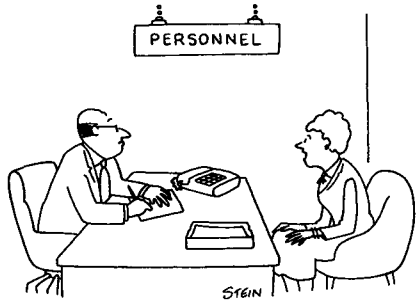
drawing of voting districts. Yet individuals and companies would be allowed to discriminate in private transactions such as selecting a business partner or hiring for a job. This would require a revision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 so that its non-discrimination provisions would apply only to the government and those businesses truly offering "public accommodation," such as hotels and large retail establishments.

In a recent book, legal scholar Richard Epstein argues for a similar approach, which has so far remained outside the mainstream of the race debate. Arguing that "discrimination laws represent the antithesis of freedom of contract," Epstein asserts that employers should be free to hire and fire people for good reason, bad reason, or no reason at all. Epstein challenges the strongly held belief of many Americans that they have a right not to be discriminated against: in a free society, he counters, they have a right to enter into voluntary transactions that other parties should be at liberty to accept or refuse.

WITHOUT putting it this way, Epstein is defending ethnocentrism as not only natural but also justifiable. He implies, and I agree, that this is a defensible and in some cases even admirable trait. What is the argument for preventing people from giving jobs and benefits, which are theirs to give, to those whom they prefer? Admittedly in some cases the job goes to the nephew of the boss. This, in the boss's mind, is his nephew's "merit"—to be related to him. Such nepotism, although reprehensible in the public sector—since the government has an obligation to treat citizens equally—is entirely appropriate in the private sector, where the economic cost of selecting the less competent falls on the individual or company making the selection.

At this point, we can anticipate the gasps of civil-rights activists. Absent legal penalties, they will warn, many companies would simply refuse to hire blacks even when they have demonstrated that they are the best-qualified candidates for the jobs. Since such behavior makes no economic sense, we can expect that it will be relatively infrequent in a competitive market. Indeed, irrational discrimination of this sort imposes the heaviest cost on the discriminator, which is where it should be.

To see why markets tend to eliminate irrational discrimination, consider what would happen if every television station in America refused to hire blacks and women. Blacks and women would suffer most, because they would be denied the opportunity to pursue careers in television. And viewers would suffer, because the quality of news and entertainment shows would be diminished. But what if only a few stations refused to hire women and blacks? Neither of these two targeted groups would suffer very much, because their most capable applicants would simply offer their services to other stations. The offending stations would suffer a great deal, because they would be deprived of the chance to hire talented blacks and women. Competitive pressure would soon force the stations either to hire women and blacks, or to suffer losses in ratings and revenue.



"I'll be glad to answer questions unrelated to age, race, religion, marital status, political affiliation, sexual orientation, credit rating—or experience."

Given these new realities, civil-rights leaders may begin to see the dividends in Richard Epstein's proposal. Faced with the alternative of an enforced color-blind approach that would outlaw discrimination in either direction, many blacks who recognize the pervasiveness of contemporary preferences in their favor might well prefer to preserve affirmative action in the private sector, even at the price of tolerating a few isolated employers who would, for whatever reason, discriminate against them.

It is important to air the issue of private discrimination in order to debate the long-term destination of social policy in the area of race. Yet before those arguments gain a mainstream hearing, the country must first settle the question of whether its agencies of government are going to embrace racial categorization of citizens and practice racial discrimination, or reject it and treat Americans equally under the law. Although current state policy professes to promote "benign" discrimination, all discrimination is benign for its beneficiary and invidious for its victim. America will not liberate itself from the shackles of the past until the government gets out of the race business.

Some activists agree that in an ideal world the government would not classify and prefer citizens on the basis of race; yet in today's society, these self-styled realists contend, race-based policies are indispensable because, as black scholar Cornel West puts it, "race matters." But precisely because race matters, one can argue that the government should not play favorites.

Consider the analogy of separation of church and state. The reason for its enactment in America was not that religion didn't matter. On the contrary, precisely because in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries people were killing each other over their faith, some form of separation became an appealing and necessary solution. What we need now is what economist Jennifer Roback calls "separation of race and state," which implies a public stance of race-neutrality. The justification of such separation is not that race is not a fact; rather, insofar as the government is concerned, in Leon Wieseltier's words, "Race is not a value."

Separation of race and state is based on the recognition of the harm that government-imposed racial distinctions have done. The best safety of citizens lies in refusing to trust the state with a power that it has shown itself unable to use wisely. As John Courtney Murray wrote, when it came to religion, the American Founders established not "articles of faith" but "articles of peace." By permitting the free and voluntary interaction of citizens within a framework of state neutrality, America can begin the job of transcending the pathology of race and move closer toward the destination that we can term "the end of racism." □

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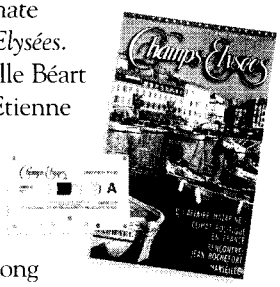

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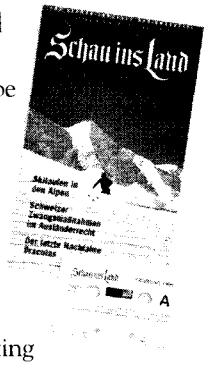

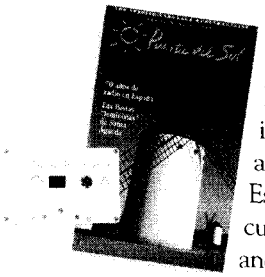

Puerta del Sol: A talented production team in Madrid examines the colorful textures of Hispanic culture every two months in *Puerta del Sol*. Interviews with authors Carlos Fuentes and Laura Esquivel, a three-part series on the culture and heritage of Sephardic Jews, and a feature on the saffron harvest in La Mancha are just a sample of the intriguing segments on recent editions of this Spanish-language audiomagazine.

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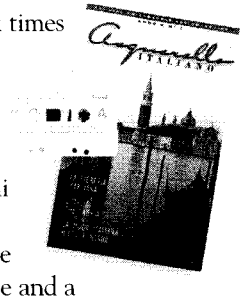

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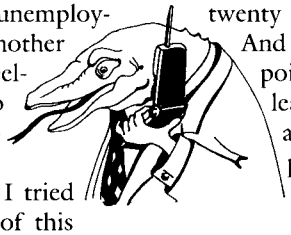
GEKKO

AS it's time for fingerpointing and recriminations, I thought I would take a look at how Ray Fair's econometric model for elections worked out this year. Fair, a professor of economics at Yale, incorporates growth, inflation, and unemployment rates, along with another variable he calls the "feel-good" factor, to come up with a model for predicting presidential elections.



You might recall—though I tried to forget—that in March of this year, this model was telling us that a Republican would get about 51 per cent of the two-party vote. Guess not.

Frankly, I was so depressed by the Dole performance by the early summer that I couldn't face looking at another run of the model. In early August, based on more recent data, Fair recalculated and came up with a narrow (51 per cent) victory for Clinton. In the event, of course, Clinton got 54.6 per cent of the two-party vote. What had changed in the world?

It turns out to be that feel-good factor, which is not as vague as it sounds. Fair counts feel-good sentiment based on the number of calendar quarters in which annualized per-capita GDP growth exceeds 2.9 per cent. You probably won't be surprised to find out that the President with the smallest number of feel-good quarters in recent times was George Bush. Remember him? The guy who worked for Dick Darman?

There are always problems with econometric models, but Fair's feel-good factor makes intuitive sense. Clinton got a surprise feel-good bonus in the second quarter of this year, when economic growth briefly popped up over 4 per cent. "That gave him another percentage point of two-party vote share," Fair says. In the third quarter, growth was already slumping back down, but the brief growth injection had its effect. Fair also found that he had slightly overestimated inflation and underestimated one quarter's growth from 1995.

Even so, Dole did about two and a half percentage points worse than Fair's model predicted. "I think the model did pretty well this year," he says. "I don't see any need to modify the equations. What did really badly this year was the opinion polls. They were calling for a Clinton victory by margins of up to twenty points." I think Fair is right. And the two and a half percentage points he missed by is the very least that can be chalked up to an utterly incompetent campaign run by corporate hacks with no discernible convictions.

■ Back in August, you may recall, we took a brief look at Ecuador, whose president, a Mr. Abdala Bucaram, had proudly assumed the nickname of "El Loco." At the time, he was canceling contracts with American oil companies and revoking privatization plans. My bond-market friends were bailing out. But a handful of more enterprising American businessmen, the kind who have developed a detailed knowledge of the enforcement mechanisms of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, were very bullish.

Well, the bond investors were wrong, and the successors to Armand Hammer were right. Ecuador's dollar-denominated bonds have far outperformed the market. I had my doubts about the reliability of politicians who were so obviously for sale, but it seems that whoever got to El Loco received value for his money. "After all that rhetoric, he sort of surprised us with his appointments, which weren't so bad," one of my bond people said.

"Write a speech to the stockholders, Higgins, and put a spin on why I make six million."

But the wheel of fortune may be about to turn once again. I recently ran into one of those "creative" businessmen. "I'd sell out now," he said. "El Loco has gotten the wrong people angry, and they blew up a helicopter he was supposed to be in." That doesn't sound good.

■ One of those portfolio managers CNBC puts on in the breakfast slot was opining last month about how we really haven't seen "speculative excess." The very same morning, the first Russian company to be listed on the New York Stock Exchange was opened for trading. The stock, Vimpel Communications A.O., has the main cellular-telephone franchise for Moscow. Needless to say, the stock opened up sharply from the issue price. This for a company entirely dependent on the continued grace and favor of a government that is the heir to a millennium of arbitrary power. On the other hand, Vimpel's customers are the sort of Russians (or expatriate Westerners) who can afford to spend more than $350 a month on cellular-phone bills. As long as they live.

Speaking of which, you may have heard of the first public assassination of an American businessman in Moscow. Paul Tatum, who was a partner in the local Radisson hotel franchise, was rewarded with the better part of a clip from a Kalashnikov after his share was tied up in a legal dispute. "The Chechen mafia," shrugged a friend of mine.

"He was a maniac," commented another American. "What was he doing, taking those people to court?"

Anyway, Vimpel lost a good prospect. On the other hand, all the gossip the Tatum hit generated must have added a nice chunk of airtime to Vimpel's billings. Within the same week, it was announced that the rescheduling deal for the old Soviet debt had to be put off until early next year. Apparently the Russian central-banking authorities are having problems finding all the records of the money they and their predecessors borrowed.

But I guess giving more money to people like this doesn't count as speculative excess. —JOHN DIZARD

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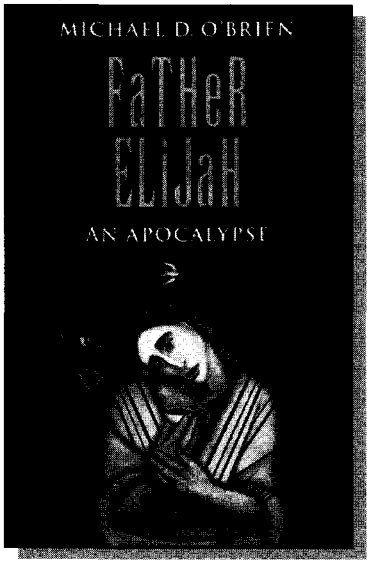

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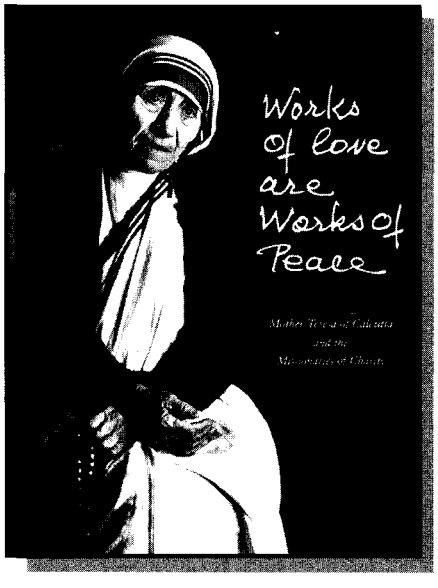

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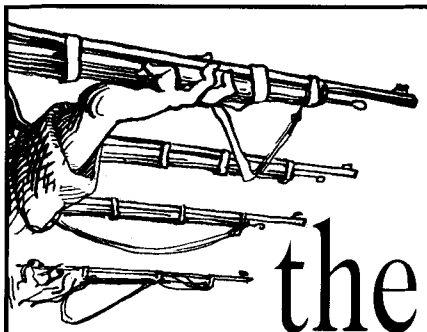

Who Lost the White House?

SPECIAL RECRIMINATIONS ISSUE

The Missing Candidate

John O. McGinnis

BOB Dole's resounding defeat at the polls was one of the most overdetermined events in American political history. Both the messenger and the message were so flawed that either alone would have frustrated the opportunity for victory. The candidate was inarticulate—in debate mentioning issues in legislative shorthand as if the audience were pundits rather than people, and on the stump bellowing, "This is America!" as if his listeners somehow doubted the identity of the country in which they lived. A long-time Senate leader in a divided government, Dole was inevitably seen as a man of compromise rather than principle, and this image undercut all the principled positions he intermittently asserted, such as his support for a deep tax cut and his opposition to racial and ethnic preferences. His former leadership position also drew him to harp on tactics rather than substance, on the political advantage served by his positions rather than their moral correctness. Finally, the very length of his performance on the national stage deprived him of any freshness or novelty—a huge handicap in delivering a message on the necessity of fundamental political change.

The message was no better than the messenger: it was neither coherent, constant, nor consistently principled. Ideas like the tax cut were introduced, only to be neglected in favor of some other idea which itself soon faded away. Never once did Dole give a speech on the campaign trail that wove together the themes of social and economic conservatism—by pointing out, for instance, that a limited state without subsidies and excessive safety nets generates a society with the values of self-reliance, prudence, and attachment to family. This failure was fatal, because Republicans can win nationally only by energizing both economic *and* cultural conservatives. Dole's proposed constitutional amendments instituting term limits and requiring a balanced budget and a supermajority to raise taxes were delivered as a laundry list and consequently did not move voters. Dole never provided a persuasive case for constitutional reform by showing why these proposals together were necessary to take political power away from the special interests that live off the state and give it back to hard-working, productive individuals in our society.

THE mistakes of 1996 throw into bold relief the kind of messenger the Republicans should choose in 2000 and the kind of message that should be delivered. The candidate should be able to appeal eloquently to social and economic conservatives and make the case for constitutional reform. He or she should be fresh to the national political scene and untainted by uneasy compromises. In other words, the model candidate would be Antonin Scalia.

No one else of prominence in America's public life makes the case for conservatism better than Scalia. Time after time on the Supreme Court he has reaffirmed respect for the traditional American values encoded in the Constitution and has done so in a pungent and lively manner that cuts through the fog generated by the liberal media. On the campaign trail he could do the same. He is also well positioned to bring economic and traditional conservatives together. As a former professor at the University of Chicago, he is a matchless expositor of laissez-faire economics, and yet no one can doubt that he believes as intensely in social conservatism as in the magic of the market: on the Court he has consistently rejected racial and ethnic preferences and abjured the judicial usurpations that have produced abortion on demand and kept religion out of the public square.

Because of this unusual mix of experience and talents Scalia can combine traditional values and economics to argue a more powerful case for conservatism than can be made on the basis of either alone. For instance, to a lawyer trained in economics it is clear that preferential affirmative action not only is unjust but also decreases the wealth of the average citizen by making it harder to match individuals with the jobs in which they would be most productive. Scalia him-

Mr. McGinnis teaches at the Cardozo Law School of Yeshiva University in New York.

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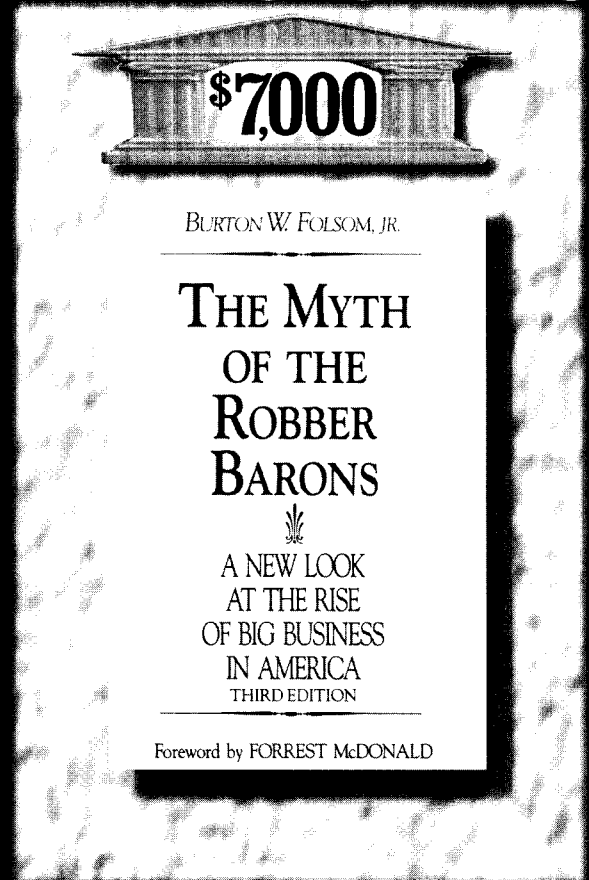
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self has already beautifully made clear the connection between religion and the social order that is necessary for a productive society. Recently an attorney argued before the Supreme Court that New York City no longer permitted religious activities in schools because it now believed that such activities were divisive and therefore harmful to society. Scalia retorted that when he was growing up in New York its more accommodating attitude toward religion was premised on the opposite proposition: that religion inculcated moral values and preserved social order. Scalia then moved in for the kill: "How is New York City's novel experiment working out?" His question prompted a huge chortle from the usually reserved Supreme Court audience.

Even if Scalia decides against running, speculation about his candidacy is beneficial

Scalia is also best positioned to make the case for constitutional reform. He understands that the original Constitution of the United States was an intricately wrought system designed in large measure to prevent government from expropriating the wealth of citizens at the behest of special interests. To that end, the Framers provided for strong property rights and created a federalist structure where the central government was limited in domestic affairs to maintaining open markets and where the states themselves were restrained by the competition among them for talent and investment capital. Scalia has watched as the Court in this century has shredded one after another of these constitutional restraints. He thus can make the case that constitutional reforms such as amendments requiring a balanced budget and a two-thirds majority to raise taxes are necessary to constrain again the power of special interests. In Scalia's hands, constitutional reform will be seen not as a radical innovation but as a measured attempt to restore the Framers' vision of limited government.

Scalia is also the perfect messenger for fundamental rightward political change. Although he has held an important government position that gives him presidential stature, he is innocent of compromises in government. Although he is not unknown, he is far from being overexposed like Speaker Gingrich and other familiar legislators. And as he becomes better known he will be better liked. He is witty and personable. He is so intellectually quick that he would be peerless in any presidential debate, and yet at the same time he comes across as utterly unpretentious. He not only favors family values but actually practices them: he is still married to his original wife and has nine children, many of them already themselves accomplished.

Once he were elected, the force of his personality and his intellect would galvanize the Executive Branch. Like President Reagan he would articulate a set of principles which subordinates could take as guiding beacons for policy. Like Prime Minister Thatcher, he would also be able to examine the important details of proposals, because he is capable of being the master of many subjects simultaneously. And his long participation in the conservative intellectual movement would attract to government many excellent people who might not otherwise suspend their own substantial enterprises.

Some may legitimately worry about losing Scalia's powerful voice on the Supreme Court. But if Senate Republicans achieve the kind of gains that an opposition party usually does in the sixth year of a President's time in office, they will have the power to block any Court appointment. Thus if Scalia were to resign shortly before the New Hampshire primary and were to win the election, we could look forward to President Scalia nominating his own replacement. And his combination of judicial experience and wisdom would allow him to make the most effective Supreme Court appointments of any President in American history.

The mechanics of initiating a Scalia candidacy are fairly simple. A committee could follow the model of the Draft Eisenhower committee, which explored the possibility of a candidacy and raised funds for a campaign without Eisenhower's involvement. Of course, there remains the question of whether Scalia would ultimately be willing to take the plunge. Only one Justice—Charles Evans Hughes—has ever done so, running against Woodrow Wilson in 1916 and losing very narrowly.

But even if Scalia decides against running, speculation about his candidacy is beneficial. He possesses such a congeries of qualities needed in a Republican candidate for 2000 that reflection on him will no doubt suggest other imaginative possibilities and encourage other prospects to model themselves on him. Even if he does not become the candidate, he is the gold standard against which all other candidates should be judged. □

Politics of Distortion

Don Nickles

AT his first official press conference since the election, President Clinton talked about "building a bridge" with Republicans on the Medicare issue.

"When we ended budget negotiations . . . we were actually quite close to an agreement," he said. "And the differences between us were entirely manageable."

What a difference an election can make.

No issue was used more effectively in the 1996 election's sound-bite war than Medicare. President Clinton and the Democratic National Committee spent a lot of time and money maligning congressional Republicans' efforts to save this failing program.

They accused us of cutting the program. Even more laughably, they accused us of using the savings to pay for tax cuts for our "wealthy friends."

Mr. Nickles is the senior senator from Oklahoma.

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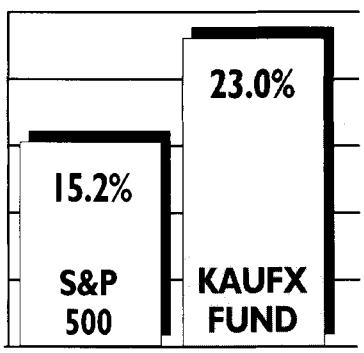

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I've joked in the past that the Administration is entitled to its own opinion, but not to its own facts. Well, the election is over. And guess what? Medicare is still going broke. That is a fact.

Here are some other facts:

According to the Medicare trustees' 1996 report, Medicare's Hospital Insurance trust fund this year will pay out $8 billion more than it takes in. By the year 2001, they estimate, there will be a shortfall of more than $50 billion per year, and the trust fund will be bankrupt. By 2005 the annual shortfall in the Medicare program is estimated to be more than $100 billion. That means that if reforms aren't made soon Medicare will not be able to pay hospital bills when people aged sixty today reach retirement. President Clinton's veto of Medicare reform turned a Medicare problem into a Medicare crisis.

The proposal Mr. Clinton vetoed would have limited the growth of Medicare spending to an average of 7 per cent per year—more than twice the rate of inflation. The Congressional Budget Office estimated that under the Republican plan we would spend $1.674 *trillion* on Medicare over seven years (1996–2002). The President's budget office estimated that his plan would spend $1.697 trillion over the same period. The difference between the two plans was just 1.4 per cent. And both plans proposed to spend the same amount in 2002—$292 billion.

These are some facts of the Medicare debate.

Prior to November 5, these tiny differences between the two plans translated into "draconian" and "extreme" measures when the Republican plan was described by Democratic ad makers. Growth rates of 7 per cent per year were called "cuts."

Even after the election, Mr. Clinton has persisted in his attacks. "I believe that what I said about the Medicare provisions of the budget I vetoed was accurate and true and fair," he said at his November 8 press conference, "and I cannot retract that."

At the same time, the President says he wants to "build a bridge" with Republicans on Medicare. The problem is that he and other Democrats have assaulted senior citizens with scare tactics and half-truths. Their irresponsible albeit effective ad blitz means we must now work to save the program in an environment where distortions are believed as fact by many of America's seniors.

The President by his re-election has earned the opportunity and the responsibility to lay a plan on the table. But it is time for the President to level with the American people about the looming crisis of Medicare so that we can move forward to save the system.

The lesson learned is that politics by distortion may be an expedient way to win votes, but it is quite harmful when the time comes to solve problems. And the time to solve problems is upon us.

Congressional Republicans remain committed to saving and reforming Medicare by strengthening the free-market system so that seniors will have increased choice and access to affordable private insurance. This is the foundation of our bridge between Medicare and the twenty-first century. We eagerly await the blueprints of the President's bridge, and hope that politics by distortion is not all he has. □

Inside the Campaign

Ramesh Ponnuru

WHAT more can be said about a campaign which, in its waning days, had Ross Perot calling it "weird and inconsequential" and its own candidate going negative, finally, but against the voters? "Wake up, America!" said Dole, adding a characteristic twist to Reagan's 1984 "Morning in America" theme. Asked what went wrong, a former RNC official sighs. "It's kind of like asking when your dad dies of cancer, which cigarette did it? Bury the body and move on."

OK, but not before piling on a few more shovelsful of dirt. Plenty of Republicans blame Dole for digging his own grave. He treated his nomination like a gold watch given by the company on his retirement. Even the most gifted staff would have had a tough time selling a candidate who spoke in Dole's trademark "telegraphic" style, and who blurted out remarks his aides had made to him about NAACP "set-ups" and "wedge issues." And of course an incumbent presiding over a nation at peace and with a tolerable economy was likely to win re-election. But neither uncontrollable circumstances nor Dole's (well-known) weaknesses as a candidate should obscure the fact that this campaign was the most abysmal one Republicans have mounted in modern times. It was worse even than Bush–Quayle '92, which most observers would not have thought possible.

President Clinton's re-election team was sophisticated, coordinated, and aggressive. Dole's staff matched them in cynicism but little else. *Their* aggression was chiefly directed at each other. Mike Murphy, who was dismissed in September as Dole's media consultant, later wrote that distrust and secrecy made the campaign "like the Kremlin." Former staffers and hangers-on paint a similar picture. "There are departments that don't speak to other departments," said one. "The press shop won't speak to the rapid-response shop. . . . People are too turf-conscious." Campaign manager Scott Reed exacerbated the problem by running the campaign like Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon: he knew what each department was doing but they couldn't follow each other.

Clinton's team was sophisticated and aggressive. Dole's staff matched them in cynicism but little else

It's not surprising, then, that staffers would air their internal strategic disputes in public. For two weeks the campaign debated whether to attack Clinton's character, using the *Washington Post*'s front page as an intermediary. This was of a piece with the campaign's general leakiness, which tended to undercut campaign tactics. Putting Billy

Mr. Ponnuru is NR*'s national reporter.*

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NR *West*

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CONTENTS

OUCH!	page 1
West World	page 2
Blood Orange	page 5
Gals Will Be Gals	page 6
West Coast Observer	page 8

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OUCH!

BRIAN T. KENNEDY

AT 10:25 P.M., November 5, at the Ontario Hilton, California Assemblyman Jim Brulte, elected that night to the state senate, looked up from his computer to announce that the Republicans had lost the state assembly. Most returns were not even in, but the savvy Brulte, who had masterminded a Republican takeover of the assembly in 1994, saw the handwriting on the wall: Democrats 43, Republicans 37. What's more, gains expected in the state senate never materialized. And the 26-26 tie in the California congressional delegation became a 29-23 Democratic majority. Even Proposition 209, the California Civil Rights Initiative, which earlier polling numbers had indicated would sweep to victory with two-thirds of the vote, won with only 54 per cent.

The explanation is really pretty simple: in districts throughout California, the Democrats paid attention to the basics—getting out the vote, walking precincts and phone banking—out-flanking the hapless Republican majority, led this time by Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle. Pringle and his operatives found out that, unlike running campaigns in Republican-friendly Orange County, overseeing eighty assembly campaigns statewide is a daunting task. Consultants have to be hired, and then to be managed. Money has to be raised. Decisions have to be made as to which races can be won, and as to which of these need or merit the most support. And most of all, the voters have to be given a reason to vote. In all these areas Pringle and the GOP fell short.

MANY Republican consultants who made their reputations during the Reagan years think they can still win races with some well-timed mail pieces, an absentee-ballot program, and a few phone banks, forgetting the traditional hard work and long hours of political campaigns. Thus in Republican Tom Berryhill's challenge of Dennis Cardoza in the central valley, campaign staff could be found watching a football game on the Saturday before the election. While Berryhill may squeak by with a recount victory, two other Republicans in high-profile races were not so lucky: incumbent Bill Hoge of Pasadena, whose campaign office had neither a computer nor a fax machine in the week before the election, and whose volunteers were thus hampered in their precinct-walking efforts; and John Geranios, running for a seat vacated by a popular Republican in a district neighboring Hoge's, where a week before the election only a handful of precincts were walked, and that by the candidate himself.

Some GOP apologists have suggested that early television reports of Bob Dole's demise hurt down-ticket candidates. For months it was apparent, however, that Dole was going to lose, and political strategists are supposed to plan for the worst regardless. As a veteran political observer scolded the day after the election: "Organization, organization, organization."

After bad management, the GOP's second problem was money. Democrats ended up putting over $300,000 into some assembly races, and up to $100,000 in normally safe Republican districts. The $8 million Republican "Victory Fund"—raised from California businesses, many of which, it became clear, would as soon deal with the Democrats—and the coffers of the California Republican Party, which included contributions from media mogul Rupert Murdoch and State Senate Minority Leader Rob Hurtt, were no match for the money and manpower placed at the disposal of Democrat Assembly Leader Richard Katz by big labor, public-employee unions, the California Teachers Association, and the trial attorneys.

Some of Pringle's critics say that he wasted money in races where Republicans didn't have a chance, for instance in the northern California race of challenger Marge Handley. But here again incompetence seemed to loom large. Early on, Handley ran TV ads on the evils of quotas, identifying herself with the popular Prop 209. As a result her poll numbers shot up 10 points and gave

(Continues on page West-4)

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WEST WORLD

■ Infamous figure skater Tonya Harding gave CPR to an elderly woman who had collapsed in a Portland, Oregon, bar, then comforted her until an ambulance arrived. Why didn't Bob Dole think of that?

■ In Colorado, a surprising 57 per cent of the voters rejected the Parental Rights Amendment, which would have guaranteed parents a constitutional right to "direct and control the upbringing, education, values, and discipline of their children." Overwhelming initial support was eroded by the fact that most of the initiative's financial backing was from out of state, and by arguments that the initiative's wording was so open-ended that it could undermine proper and traditional state interest in children's welfare (see "Big Deal?" *NR* West, Nov. 11). For the latter reason, even former Colorado Senator Bill Armstrong, a strong and respected Christian conservative, opposed its passage. But liberal leaders of the opposition should not misread the results. Not only did a large majority of Coloradans initially embrace the idea of limiting the reach of social-service bureaucrats and steering public schools back to teaching basics, but groups in at least 26 other states have shown an interest in similar measures. Family autonomy will be a powerful issue in coming years—if not in the world of initiatives and referenda, then in elections from the school board to the White House.

■ With passage of Proposition 209 ending special treatment for minorities in California, Republicans will just have to get along as best they can.

■ Late last year when Willie Brown unseated Frank Jordan as mayor of San Francisco, one of his major gripes was Jordan's "criminalization of the poor." This referred to Jordan's Matrix Program, which employed the police to help clear San Francisco's downtown area and city parks of homeless people. But now, ironically, the numbers of citations for many Matrix Program offenses are as high as they were before. In fact, citations for sleeping in parks are up since Brown became mayor. And Brown, after canceling a much-vaunted summit on homelessness due to an inability to find common ground with "homeless advocates" in pre-summit negotiations, is at a loss about what to do: "This is the most complex problem I have faced as mayor. It is not one that lends itself to readily triable, replicable solutions." But there's an obvious solution, and frankly it's baffling that Willie Brown—who can sniff out sources of money for liberal causes with the best of them—hasn't thought of it. Two words: Buddhist temples.

■ San Francisco Supervisor and AIDS activist Tom Ammiano is proposing a law to allow municipal permits for so-called "group-sex clubs"—establishments "that encourage patrons to engage in, or to watch other patrons engaging in, sexual activities." These businesses are said to promote the public good because, according to AIDS Foundation spokesman Tim Rodrigues, "Clubs often wind up being a safer environment than what people might do in their homes." (The point would not have occurred to us, but we'll take his word for it.) Dr. Michael Katz, an official of the city health department, sums up the combined wisdom of the liberal intelligentsia in this expression of support: "It's such a sensible thing that it's hard to think of a reason not to do it." These group-sex clubs would, of course, be required to stock the accouterments of safe sex, and even hire "safe-sex monitors." Also, regular inspections would be in order. (Wouldn't that be a plum of a job?) But don't be led by this to think that San Francisco has gone off the moral deep end. Certainly don't think it's gone libertarian. We can report a consensus that there will be no drinking of alcoholic beverages allowed at these group-sex clubs. Is this what President Clinton, who campaigned hard in the Bay Area with no small success, means by the "vital center"?

■ Under a 1988 law, California has been providing prenatal care to seventy thousand illegal-immigrant women, at a cost of $69 million per year. In early November, Governor Wilson took executive action to end the practice as of December 1. Within hours "illegal-immigrant advocates" challenged Wilson in court. But U.S. District

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Judge Mariana Pfaelzer, who has never been hesitant in the past to overrule state majorities, actually held that Wilson is within his rights. Why? Judge Pfaelzer had previously ruled that attempts by California to curb benefits for illegals constituted an encroachment on federal responsibility. But now she admits that under the welfare-reform bill signed by the President in August, "Congress has decided that the states should deny health benefits to illegal aliens." Now there are two more hurdles to clear. First, Mark Rosenbaum, of the Southern California chapter of the ACLU, suggests that a new legal assault will be launched against Wilson, based on the Constitution. The argument, according to Rosenbaum, is that "denying pre-natal care to citizen children"—meaning unborn children of illegal women, who if born in the U.S. will be citizens—would deny them equal protection. That's quite a stretch of logic—which isn't to say that a judge won't bite—and not one you're likely to see the ACLU apply to the protection of unborn citizens from abortionists' knives. But the greater threat to Wilson's policy is that Californians have returned Democrats to majority status in the state assembly, and the federal welfare-reform bill leaves state legislatures free to approve pre-natal services to illegals if they so desire.

■ As we go to press, the race in California's 42nd Congressional District remains up in the air. After counting all the absentee ballots, veteran Democrat Rep. George Brown looks to hold a five-hundred-vote lead over conservative Republican challenger Linda Wilde. But there are a couple of anomalies in the results. For one, while 95 per cent of those in the district who voted in the presidential race also voted in the state assembly races, only 60 per cent voted in the high-profile congressional race. This is unprecedented. Also, precinct breakdowns suggest that Linda Wilde won in strong Democrat areas such as Colton, but lost in traditionally Republican Rancho Cucamonga. Incompetent voter fraud? Or maybe all those felons rushed through naturalization by the INS in time for the elections were raised on Jack Benny and decided en masse to settle in CUC-AAA-MONGA. In any case, high-profile California and national Republicans are having a long second look.

■ With Orange County congressman Bob Dornan apparently out of his seat, also due to absentee ballots, C-SPAN can scrap the device that broadcasts his House speeches on a seven-second delay.

■ The Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco has struck again, upholding a lower-court decision invalidating a law that would require a modicum of "decency and respect" for taxpayers' values in work being funded by the National Endowment for the Arts. The case arose in 1992, when four Los Angeles "performance artists" objected that their grants had been denied, and indecency has been enjoying our financial support ever since. Wrote Judge James Browning in the Appeals Court decision, "Government funding of the arts . . . must be viewpoint-neutral." Ironically, this decision was handed down on election day. The Justice Department hasn't decided whether to appeal. Given the election results, we wouldn't place any bets on it.

■ For the second time in four months, we find it instructive to draw a parallel to the stripping of actor Robert Taylor's name from Hollywood buildings in the late 1980s, for the sin of his having talked to U.S. officials about Communists in the movie business. The parallel is this: there is an attempt underway to rename a street after Marlene Dietrich in Berlin, where she was born in 1904. But it is being blocked by those who consider her a traitor to Germany for leaving her homeland in the 1930s and supporting the war against Hitler. If Hollywood doesn't like the parallel, they can do something about it. Otherwise, shame on them.

■ When the 221-year-old Bolshoi Ballet went on its first post–Cold War U.S. tour, some genius booked it to play the Aladdin Hotel in Vegas. Not only that, the tickets were priced higher than those for Wayne Newton. Is someone nuts? When the Aladdin didn't sell out, the Bolshoi's executive director, Vladimir Kokonin, suggested it was the American people who need psychiatric counseling: "We are in Las Vegas now, where they have an artificial New York, an artificial Cairo, an artificial Rome. But now has arrived the real Bolshoi, and people won't go to see it. . . . Crazy world." No, it's called competition, Vlady. Or maybe he's still feeling the nationalistic sting from the offer Gorbachev, the father of perestroika, got some years back to serve as a greeter in a Vegas casino for a million bucks a year. Now that *would* be worth more than Wayne Newton.

■ Albuquerque, New Mexico, has become the most recent Southwestern city to ban the planting of certain green trees. Plant an elm in Albuquerque today and you'll face a $500 fine. Elms cause allergies, you see, and besides, the Southwest is a natural desert. The anti-tree movement has not gone without opposition: "I get pretty sick of people coming in from the East saying that this is a desert and we have to live like it's a desert," said one elderly New Mexico native. But allergists have given the regulators all the justification they need: "I would like to see more trees in the rain forest, but not more trees in the desert. These trees are making it hard for people to breathe." Meanwhile, we know some people in the Northwest who probably wish trees had the same effect on spotted owls.

■ Members of the Green Party won a majority on the Arcata, California, city council, the first time the party has taken control of a city government in the U.S. A memorial service will now be held for the tree that gave its life to make the gavel previously used to call council meetings to order.

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KENNEDY

(Continued from page West-1)

Republicans hope that they could win in a Democrat stronghold. But then Handley's opponent pointed out, with the help of $375,000 from the Democratic Party, that Handley was a certified Women Business Enterprise and had taken advantage of quotas. She sank in the polls and never recovered, having spent over $800,000.

THE $2 million spent late in support of Prop 209 has also been the source of post-election sniping. Specifically, the California GOP produced an ad featuring the famous Martin Luther King Jr. "I have a dream" speech. The ad elicited a perfectly predictable and heavily publicized response from an outraged King family and a morally indignant civil-rights establishment, led by Jesse Jackson. These ads probably did more to confuse voters than anything else—not to mention creating the appearance of a rift between the GOP and the popular initiative campaign, when officials of the latter publicly distanced themselves from the GOP's handiwork.

The biggest Republican failure was the inability to enthuse members of their base: it is increasingly clear that large numbers of Republican Californians—especially Reaganite baby boomers—didn't bother voting. Throughout the summer Republicans ran on a tepid "we're good for business" theme. When assembly candidates spoke of tax cuts, they ran into Bob Dole's problem and ended up floundering around to counter the anti-deficit/anti-tax cut message that Clinton and Perot had spent millions on for four years.

Many observers wondered why Republicans didn't use Prop 209 to clearly distinguish themselves from the Democrats in the voters' minds. As it was, some of them did and ran successful campaigns. Most, however, shied away from the issue for fear of being branded as racist—a charge that pro-209 chairman Ward Connerly showed could be deflected with reference to America's original principles and appeals to the American sense of fairness. Welfare reform, another "wedge issue" that could have established a clear understanding among voters of the practical consequences of the election, also went largely unmentioned.

The future of the California assembly remains uncertain. Although Pringle has been re-elected Republican caucus leader and is well-liked by his peers, he is term-limited out in '98 and his hold on the position is tenuous. If he should step down, those most likely to fill the breach are two of the state's most conservative legislators: current co-majority leader Keith Olberg, of California's high desert region, and Tom McClintock of the San Fernando Valley. A PhD in government, Olberg earns high marks for his grasp of policy and his ability to work with colleagues. McClintock, a five-time assemblyman who returns after unsuccessful campaigns for Congress and state comptroller, is a master parliamentarian and an expert on budget issues.

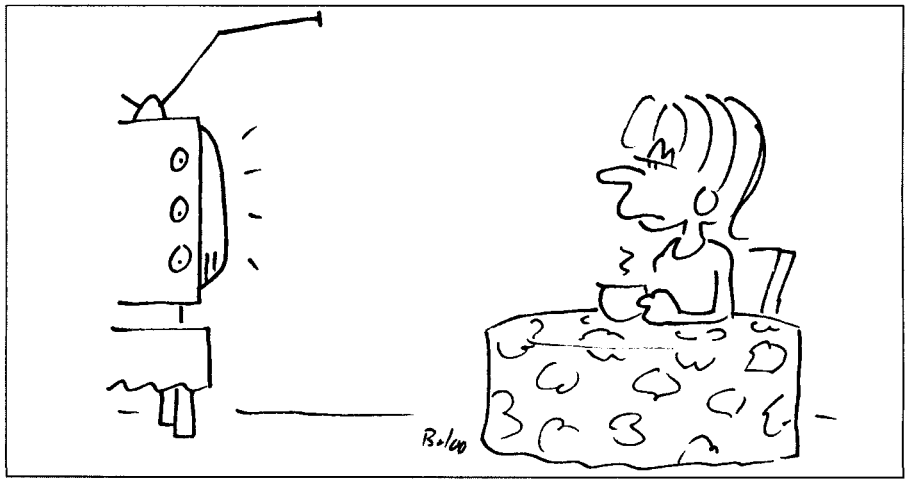
On the Democratic side, the new assembly speaker will be Cruz Bustamante, a popular Fresno Democrat who will become the first Latino to wield the speaker's gavel. Although he toed the party line in opposing Prop 187 in 1994 and Prop 209 this year, Bustamante is considered a moderate among many Democrats for his views on environmental issues.

The day of Bustamante's election as caucus leader, the Democrats were counseled on governing by former Democrat assembly speaker, now San Francisco Mayor, Willie Brown. Bustamante will likely have a more difficult time governing the assembly than Brown, if only because he assumes the speakership as a term-limited lame duck. One of those waiting to replace him will be Sheila Kuehl, of *Dobie Gillis* fame, who is easily one of the smartest as well as most radical of the assembly Democrats. The first openly homosexual member of the assembly, she will also probably be the first woman floor leader on the Democrat side.

IN the end, this year's Republican losses underscore the fact that when it comes to the mechanics of electoral politics, Democrats are more professional. To some extent this reflects the fact that many Republicans, especially at the state level, don't look on politics as a profession at all. Public life is a necessity, entered into temporarily for the sake of private life, which they regard as higher. For Democrats, on the other hand, private life is subservient to—even inseparable from—the public. Democrats see their livelihood—indeed, they see livelihood itself—as totally dependent on their retaining power. They and their dependents, e.g., the public-employee unions, feel that if the political tide turns against them, their futures, literally, would be in jeopardy. It is not overly dramatic to say that for them, politics is a life-and-death struggle. This is why it was not surprising to see union members dropping political literature from 5 in the morning to 10 at night.

The truth about public life is probably somewhere between these two views. But for those who have entered politics to halt the encroachment into and subversion of the private by the public sphere, it would behoove them to think a little more in terms of life and death. After all, private freedom and morality are not indestructible. Politics, in the sense of governing to revive and defend these good things, *is* higher than private life, and deserves better treatment than business as usual. □

Mr. Kennedy is director of the Claremont Institute's Golden State Center for Policy Studies.



"Good morning, and welcome to the liberal media."

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REAGAN COUNTRY? CLINTON COUNTRY?

Blood Orange

HAROLD JOHNSON

BREADBASKET of Republicanism. Vatican of conservatism. Ground zero for the Reagan Revolution.

Such are the metaphors that journalists conjure up when the topic is Orange County.

The reality is more complex, less monochromatic. One need only look at the November 5 election returns to see how, in some significant ways, "The most Republican county in America" is a place where Bill and Hillary might not feel all that uncomfortable.

It was indeed a "difficult" evening for Orange County conservatives, to quote Curt Pringle, the local legislator who was dislodged from the state assembly speakership by Democratic victories elsewhere in the state.

Not only did Pringle see his own fortune slide, defeat was also handed to some promising local candidates for whom he had gone to bat. Perhaps most disappointing for advocates of a leaner county government, Garden Grove City Councilman Mark Leyes, a longtime Pringle friend, narrowly lost his bid for a seat on the Board of Supervisors.

If some befuddled nonentity had beaten Leyes, there might be consolation in the possibility that the victor couldn't do much harm. No such luck. The winner was Westminster Mayor Chuck Smith, the very definition of energetic insiderism, who seems to be a board member on every malignant government mega-agency that ever thrust its paw into a taxpayer's wallet pocket. Start with the Orange County Transportation Authority—aggressive conscientious objector in the movement to privatize bus service—and go downhill from there.

Oh, yes, and Chuck Smith also loves carpool lanes. 'Nuff said.

Well, actually there's one more important point. He's a Republican.

You see, in Orange County, everybody who's anybody on the elective scene is a Republican. (At least that was the case until U.S. Rep. Bob Dornan got his comeuppance from constituents angered over his hubristic run for the White House.) But just calling yourself Republican doesn't necessarily mean you don't secretly snicker at most everything Ronald Reagan stood for.

The population of "moderate Republicans" is at pestilential levels in Orange County, and the victory of Smith, along with those of like proclivities on numerous city councils, swelled their ranks considerably November 5. It is indeed one of the perverse side-effects of having a one-party county that politicians of big-spending enthusiasms can evade radar merely by pinning on an elephant button. If you show up at the Republican fund-raiser with a smile and a checkbook, few in the party hierarchy make bold to probe your thoughts on school vouchers or public-sector salaries.

Even with their camouflage in place, however, the libs can still be identified by acute observers. The secret: look for the union label. If there is a guide to who is a friend of the taxpayer and who is a friend of the tax-*taker*—a guide as reliable as the fault line between Democrat and Republican in less one-sided locales—it is who boasts the government-union endorsement, and who doesn't.

Sad to say, those who can make such a boast won many more local offices in Orange County than those on the other side. This is not a new development, but a structural reality in a county that doesn't really deserve its conservative reputation, at least not in the way

Mr. Johnson is an editorial writer for the Orange County Register.

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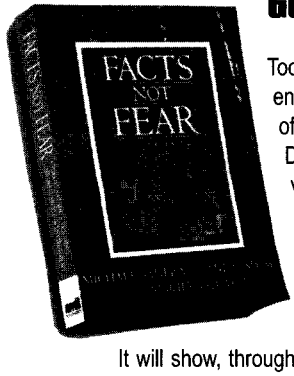

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its city and county halls are governed.

The county's world-famous bankruptcy was a direct result of the entrenchment of the spenders—their checkwriting for bloated payrolls outpacing revenue growth, necessitating risky borrowing and arbitraging to spin straw into greenbacks.

Now the bankruptcy is over—and the spending is again on a roll. The Board of Supervisors recently voted to create at least 400 new county jobs.

The city of Anaheim has at least 700 employees compensated at $75,000 or more. More than 60 people on the payroll of Newport Beach pull down at least $100,000. Fullerton's City Council has voted a four-day work week for city employees. In Orange, they kicked a well-performing private company out of the ambulance business to give the work to the fire department, at $80,000 or more for some employees. Surprise: the firefighters' union endorsed Orange's "Republican" Mayor Joanne Coontz for re-election following her support for this act of generosity.

IN fact, self-described Republicans on city councils voted for all the above-mentioned extravagances, along with other spendthriftery across the county. Public employees repay the debt by walking precincts for their benefactors (I was visited, at my Santa Ana home, shortly before election day by a firefighter, clad in a T-shirt identifying him as one of the city's finest, promoting councilmen who had voted to push his pay to the stars).

The moral? More vigilance by voters is an obvious need—and not merely within the bounds of Orange County. But what is it we are to be vigilant against? Not merely a growing assault on our pocketbooks by highly paid public workers, but a broader challenge to free institutions by a spreading bureaucratic caste whose claim on the sweat of others is grounded in power, not principle, and whose ease and perquisites are a cynical rebuke to the ethic that built this land. Imperial China had its Mandarin class of privileged government timeservers, Soviet Russia, its ruling elite of *nomenklatura*. That an even nominally similar phenomenon is taking root in the United States—with Orange County, of all places, a showcase of the trend—ought to set lovers of justice to trembling.

But be not dismayed. Orange County is also a bastion for singularly resourceful opponents of overweening government. Bruised Curt Pringle may be, but not bowed. Likewise Rob Hurtt, minority leader in the state Senate, who hails from the same home base as Pringle, Garden Grove. "Wait till '98" is the confident vow from their camp, with good reason: midterm of Clinton's final four years is unlikely to be a Democratic victory jig. The spirit that is Orange County at its best—entrepreneurial, freedom-loving, statist-challenging—will likely yet, in the persons of Pringle, Hurtt, and their broad network of allies, stare down, at home and in Sacramento, the big-government philosophy that is Orange County at its worst. □

LIBERAL STEREOTYPES

Gals Will Be Gals

SCOT J. ZENTNER

JUST days after the passage of Proposition 209, California's initiative ending state-sponsored preferential treatment based on race or gender, news reports emerged revealing audio tapes in which executives at Texaco are heard to use what seem to be racial slurs. Commentators were quick not only to condemn this behavior, but to link it to the vote in favor of Prop 209.

For instance, Margaret Carlson of CNN's *Capital Gang* suggested that the millions of Californians who voted for 209 should, upon hearing the Texaco tapes, "be ashamed" of themselves. Her thinking in urging shame upon so many of her fellow citizens seems to derive from the curious notion that if American society contains ignorant and possibly racist oil-company executives, it also needs to have race-based preferences in government hiring, contracting and education.

Along with almost every other liberal commentator in the land, Carlson makes a couple of bizarre leaps in logic. First, beginning with the assumption that some powerful businessmen are racist—and in the sure knowledge that they are being punished mercilessly for it—she concludes that racists rule America. Second, beginning with the assumption that there is racial discrimination in society, she concludes that we need more of it, only now it will be imposed by the government.

Using honest logic, if we can assume that 209 supporters were aware of the existence of ignorant and/or racist people in American society even before the emergence of the Texaco tapes, then we can conclude that they needn't follow Carlson's admonition to hang their heads. It would mean that they know they are not responsible for such behavior, and allow them to continue in the belief that their vote *against* racism was just that. Of course, we would also be assuming decent motives on the part of the electorate—an assumption clearly not made by liberal commentators.

What to make of this idea of the *shamefulness* of voting for Prop 209? In particular, one wonders what Carlson and her colleagues make of the majority of white women in California, who supported the initiative. Seventy per cent or more of black and Hispanic voters went against it. Even Asian-Californians, contrary to the expectations of 209 proponents, voted "no" by a margin of 56 to 44 per cent. But white women voted "yes" overwhelmingly, 58 to 42 per cent. Along with the 66 per cent of white males who voted for it, it was white women who made 209's victory possible. If women had gone the way of the Asian vote, 209 would have failed.

This must be especially perplexing to feminist groups, who made a great effort to rally women against the initiative. As the *Boston Globe* noted, "209's victory is the first mass decision by white women to kill affirmative action, even though they have made far more

Mr. Zentner is an assistant professor of political science at California State University, San Bernardino.

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job gains in the three decades under it than people of color." In this light, liberal commentators might cynically suggest that women are out to deny racial minorities the chance to intrude on the affirmative-action plantation from which they themselves have benefited. If this is the case, attempts by feminist groups and other opponents of 209 to link the interests of white women and of racial minorities were doomed from the start.

BUT assuming good intentions all around, how else might the vote of white women be explained? Possibly as a negative reaction to the feminist effort against the measure. Pop culture's matron saint of feminism, Candice Bergen, was heard to insist in one radio ad that maternity benefits, math programs for girls, and even funds for rape crisis centers would be lost if 209 passed. Another ad, this one on television, portrayed a woman stripped of her police badge and a stethoscope while a narrator asked, "Want to be a doctor? Police officer? Hard hat? Forget it!" And all the while a male voice chanted, "Take it off."

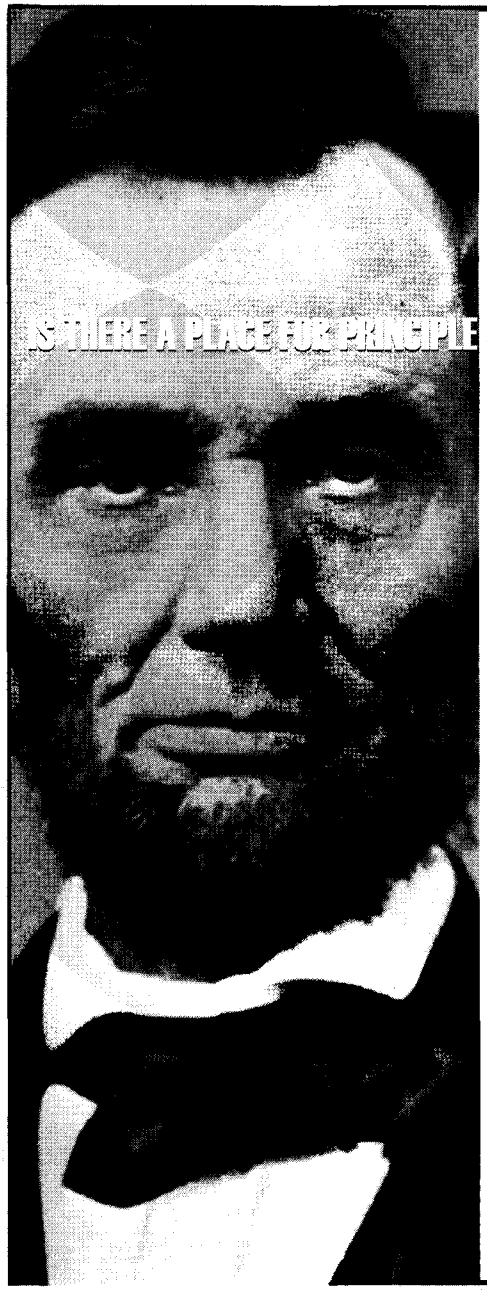
Defending a third ad, in which a woman is depicted as a victim of sexual harassment, anti-209 activist Lorraine Sheinberg said, "This ad is meant to alert women to the fact that our futures are at stake." Such ads can only work if women are predisposed to fear the men around them, which doesn't, on the face of it, seem to be the case. Otherwise they risk appearing condescending, implying that California women as a class are as hysterical as the feminists themselves. Did this hysteria turn more women on to the cause of 209 than it turned off?

Rosemary Dempsey, of the National Organization for Women, blames the failure to defeat 209 on top Democratic leaders, including President Clinton and female U.S. Senators Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein. She says they "took a walk on this proposition," adding that the campaign "did not get courageous leadership." But Boxer, Feinstein, and Clinton probably turned their backs on it, to the extent they did, because they understood that California's women—whose support they all dearly need—knew pretty well what they were doing. Pollster Mark DiCamillo reported generally that "'yes' voters understood that [Prop 209] would eliminate affirmative action. There was little ambiguity. This initiative had the highest awareness level of any ballot question from early on."

Liberal commentators would prefer to have it that California's white women shamefully voted their skin color rather than their sex, as if arbitrary characteristics of the human persona ought to be forced into some kind of hierarchy of preference. White women especially are forced into a quandary by this absurd position. Which arbitrary characteristic ought to carry the day?

Is it not possible that California's white women are capable of making reasoned decisions, absent the overriding effects of race or sex bias? Their 1996 vote is further noteworthy for the fact that, although they approved 209, they went for President Clinton in big numbers. Regardless of what one thinks of Clinton, it does not seem all that great a leap to see the reasonableness or compatibility of their choices.

As near as I can tell, however, America's liberal commentators believe that white women revealed themselves, in supporting 209, to be racist or fickle. In either case, as with life in the Texaco executive suites, the stereotypes just keep rolling along. □



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Vulnerability

IN the years since Lyndon Johnson's landslide election in 1964, the Democrats haven't fared well in the states of the inter-mountain West. Bill Clinton has tried to reverse that trend. In 1992 he won Montana, Colorado, and Nevada. Of course he had considerable help from Ross Perot, who captured a quarter or more of the vote in these states. But he was unable to beat George Bush in Arizona, Utah, or Idaho, other states in which Perot scored heavily. This year President Clinton spent considerable money trying to win the relatively few electoral votes of these land-rich states. But with the diminished candidacy of Perot, he lost Montana and Colorado, as well as Idaho and Utah. Nonetheless, he won Nevada and Arizona—remarkably, the first time since 1948 that a Democrat had carried the latter.

Here in Nevada, and no doubt in Arizona as well, Clinton's winning strategy was simple: exploit the vulnerability of those who have become dependent upon the Federal Government—especially the retirees who have flocked to these states in the last two decades seeking sunshine and lower taxes.

In traveling the highways of this vast desert area, it is not uncommon to spot a large motor home with the bumper sticker, "I'm Spending My Children's Inheritance." It is clear that many retirees have declared their independence from whatever social ties they might once have had. This social independence, however, doesn't mean self-reliance. It only means that they can no longer count on their children in times of need. And their one big need, of course, is medical care. Thus the Clinton campaign played heavily in 1996 upon elderly Americans' fear of losing Medicare. For months, thousands of Clinton ads on television and radio portrayed Bob Dole as the man who would destroy health-care security. In northern Nevada, at least, the Republicans never responded.

The national campaign mirrored our local one, with the major themes of dependency versus self-sufficiency. Bob Dole's campaign had at its center a tax cut, which would allow individuals and families greater independence to provide for their own lives. Bill Clinton said we must put women, children, and the elderly first.

Westerners pride themselves on their independence. It was here in the West that the preliminary stirring of discontent against bureaucratic Washington manifested itself in the Sagebrush Rebellion, which escalated into a more ominous and armed phase in the militia movements. Popular legend has it that Westerners want land, lots of land, and a little freedom. Also to be left alone. They value their neighbors, prize their county government, and have learned to tolerate state government. But one thing they don't want is the Federal Government. Or so goes the legend.

In fact, the 1996 election, in the West as elsewhere, showed the extent of the dependency of much of society on the national government. In the last several generations, we have stripped non-political associations of the authority and ability to solve society's problems. The nuclear family provides, just barely, the last non-governmental ties, where once there had been the extended family, along with those private, voluntary, charitable, fraternal, vocational, and religious associations to which the lonely individual might turn for support. Today individuals are disaggregated, and there is only government standing by.

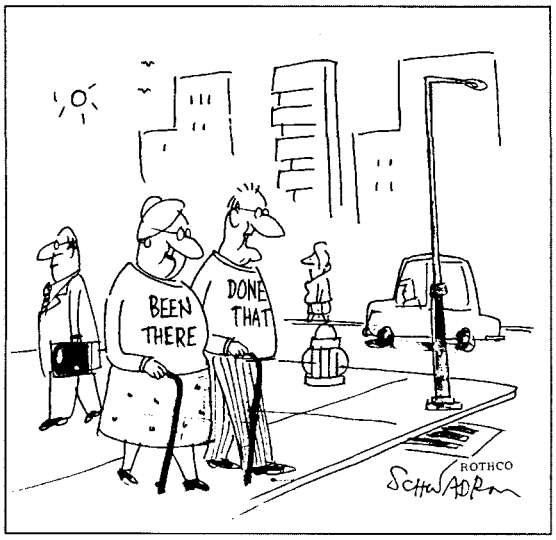
More importantly, when Americans turn to government today, it is not the government most likely to be under our control. Rather we have attempted to solve the problems of daily life through a mechanism created by the national government, the government most removed from our common concerns. The result is a bureaucracy that is meddlesome and pervasive, and a government that is remote and unaccountable.

DESPITE what the politicians said, beneath the surface nearly everyone knew that this year's election was about preserving the subsidies and bureaucracies we have created in the past five or six decades. The Republican party in Congress had raised the possibility of altering how we are governed by rolling these back. The nation's elites and organized interests, shocked to learn they might lose something that government is currently providing, took up arms. In the abstract, nobody seems to like big government. In the concrete particulars, people learn the costs of shrinking it.

But the election results didn't represent a principled choice by the people for big government. When Clinton moved to the right, declaring "the era of big government is over," he undercut the most important disagreement between the parties today and eliminated the possibility of a serious vote along those lines. Instead the election came to revolve on issues—fraudulently portrayed as great national issues—concerning administration of personal and social problems. Thus Clinton's platform of teaching children to read, providing them with school uniforms, getting employers to give people time off for PTA meetings, and allowing mothers more time in the hospital after delivery.

The question in the minds of the most vulnerable voters in the West and elsewhere in 1996 was quite clear: who will best administer the programs and bureaucracies we have created to replace those private and civic associations we have lost?

—JOHN MARINI



Mr. Marini is professor of government at the University of Nevada, Reno.

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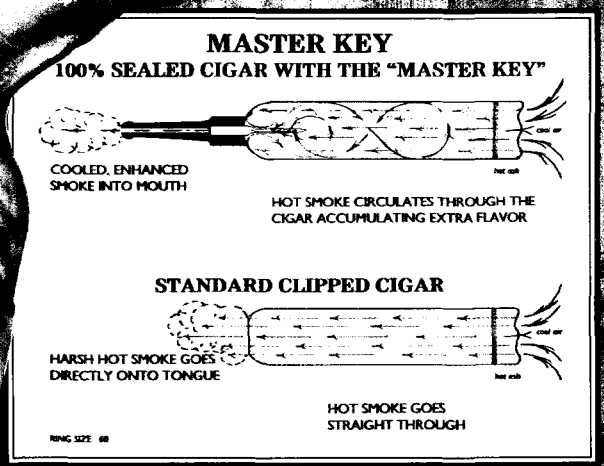
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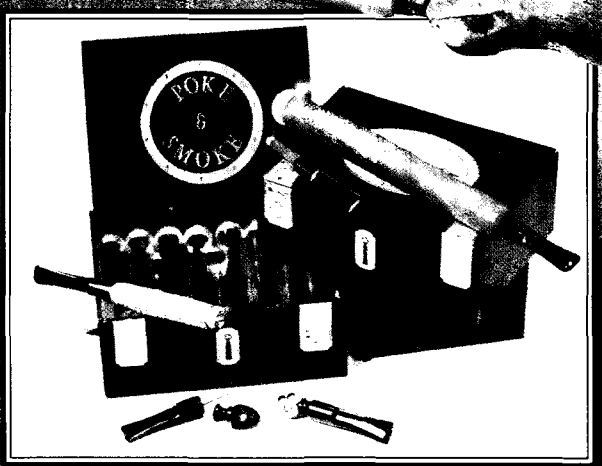

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Dale in the front row of the audience for the first presidential debate was a clever touch, for example, but it would have been more clever if Clinton hadn't been warned of it in the newspaper the day before. Other leaks demonstrated staffers' disloyalty. The week of the election, *The New Yorker*'s Michael Kelly quoted Reed as absolving himself from any responsibility for the coming defeat. (Reed's lame defense of his remarks: "The piece was supposed to be written after the election.")

The campaign's rocky press relations caused other problems too. The campaign, particularly John Buckley's communications operation, was obsessed with getting good coverage in the elite media (the networks, the *Post*, the *New York Times*). Previous, successful Republican campaigns had gone around the establishment media, appealing directly to the American people and exploiting alternative media outlets. Dole's campaign did neither. It avoided talk radio, much to the consternation of the Republican National Committee. In order not to offend elite-media sensibilities, the campaign, in effect, internalized the media's standards.

So, the San Diego convention was designed to prevent the media from being able to repeat their demonization of the 1992 Houston convention. It was soft and fuzzy, like cotton candy, and the "bounce" it generated melted just as quickly. Or take the first presidential debate. The talking heads said Dole had to show that he wasn't mean and that he had mastered the complexities of public policy. So he did both, having been coached on the latter by Sheila Burke, and the pundits patted him on the head for being a graceful loser.

If the campaign overemphasized media reactions, it was obsessed with polls. Nobody questions the competence of campaign pollster Tony Fabrizio or the accuracy of his findings; those findings just weren't translated into practical advice. Pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick criticizes "the use of focus groups and polls as a source to base Dole's convictions rather than a tool to develop strategy. You've got to *move* polls, not just measure them." The fixations on polls and the press combined to make Dole hesitant to "go negative." Yet a successful campaign had to be "negative," i.e., to persuade voters to fire the incumbent. Voters don't like negativity, but attacks stick in their minds and affect their decisions. Clinton started his anti-Dole ads early, got the message to stick, and was able to end his campaign on a positive note. When the Dole campaign finally

Middle Muddle

WHEN the GOP faithful prepare for the presidential horse race in 2000 there are two win–loss records that should be indelibly etched in their minds: 3 and 0; 0 and 3.

In the past six presidential elections, conservative Republicans have won three (1980, 1984, 1988), lost none. (In 1988 Bush ran as a Reagan Republican.) Over that same time period, centrist Republicans have won zero, lost three (1976, 1992, 1996). (In 1992 Bush ran as Bush Republican.) With a tax-cutting conservative at the top of the ticket, Republicans have been nearly invincible, winning 54 per cent of the vote and a commanding four-fifths of the electoral votes. Moderate Republican candidates have captured just 42 per cent of the vote and about one-third of the Electoral College. November 5 only confirmed once again an iron law of present-day American politics: when Democrats abandon liberalism and move to the middle, they win. When Republicans abandon conservatism and move to the middle, they lose.

The political pundits in Washington have been quick to put their spin on this election: Americans want smarter government, not less government. That would be news to the voters. For the fourth straight election, when Americans were asked in exit polls whether they favored more government and higher taxes, or less government and lower taxes, by a 2 to 1 margin they chose the latter. To underline that preference, consider that when voters from Florida to Maryland to Nevada to California had the chance to restrain taxes through ballot initiatives, by 2 to 1 margins the citizens chose to clamp ankle chains on the politicians they were simultaneously electing. Prior to the election, left-wing groups like the League of Women Voters and the teachers' unions shouted that to approve these stringent anti-tax initiatives was the equivalent of reforming government with a wrecking ball. Voters said, Exactly. It's a bit of a stretch to say now that these citizens were not voting for less government.

So why did these same voters pull the lever for Bill Clinton? Probably because they couldn't find a credible alternative for less government and lower taxes anywhere on the ballot.

Yes, Bob Dole pledged that he would introduce a 15 per cent tax cut and smaller government. But his rhetoric and his record on fiscal issues could hardly have been more schizophrenic. One minute he was offering a 15 per cent tax cut. The next he was applauding his sponsorship of the 1983 Social Security payroll-tax hike—one of the three largest tax increases in American history. One minute he was pledging to balance the budget by cutting government spending; the next he was declaring more than two-thirds of the budget (Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, veterans' benefits, and defense) untouchable. One minute he was thrashing the excesses of Clinton's nanny-state programs; the next he was boasting of his own votes for child-nutrition programs, Head Start, and the Americans with Disabilities Act. Bob Dole's anti-government message was as clear as Boston Harbor.

At one point in the final debate, Bob Dole proclaimed that he was for food stamps, the minimum wage, student loans, and other government interventions long before Bill Clinton was for them. Whether this was true or not, voters believed him. —STEPHEN MOORE

Mr. Moore is director of fiscal-policy studies at the Cato Institute.

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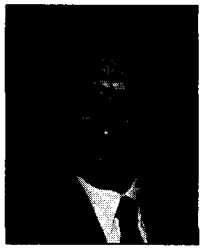

Milton Friedman

BY ED SKIMO
National Review Alaska Cruise Correspondent

(New York: Nov. 20) ***FLASH*:** The ink is still wet on the contract *National Review* has just signed for what will be one of the most spectacular events in the magazine's history: in 1997 your favorite journal will host its fourth annual sea-faring gala—this a guaranateed once-in-a-lifetime voyage—to enchanting Alaska aboard Holland America's MS *Ryndam*, the classic liner voted "Ship of the Year" by the authoritative *Ocean and Cruise News*.

BIG *NOME* GUESTS JOINING BUCKLEY

The ***National Review* 1997 Alaska Cruise** will be an extraordinary opportunity for *NR* subscribers—plus their friends and family—to spend seven glorious days with Bill Buckley, John O'Sullivan, and *NR*'s all-star staff—including Kate O'Beirne, Rick Brookhiser, Ed Capano, and Dusty Rhodes—and some very special guests: Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman, esteemed conservative jurist Robert Bork, ace political journalist Robert Novak, and rare Hollywood conservative Pat Sajak.

Other leading conservatives have also been invited on *NR*'s lavish summer voyage to a land of unrivaled natural beauty (indeed, Alaska has become the "coolest" cruise vacation destination of the 90s).

YUKON COUNT ON "EXCEPTIONAL WEEK"

The ***National Review* 1997 Alaska Cruise** will set sail from Seward, Alaska, on August 10, 1997, cruise the enchanting College and Harriman Fjords, Glacier Bay National Park, and the glorious Inside Passage, visit the rustic and charming ports of Sitka (the outpost of Russia's once far-flung fur empire) and Ketchikan (famed for its native cultural sites), plus Juneau, Alaska's capital city, and arrive in beautiful Vancouver, British Columbia, on August 17th.

NR Publisher Ed Capano has deliberately scheduled the sail for mid-August. Not only does that fit into most people's "vacation" schedule, but August is also "peak" season for Alaska cruising (when temperatures are in the comfortable high 60s). "We expect an absolutely exceptional week," Capano said. "We couldn't have picked a better time to sail."

RYNDAM: ELEGANCE IN EVERY *NANOOK* AND CRANNY

"Nor a better ship," he added. The award-winning *Ryndam* is renowned throughout the cruise industry for its elegance, luxury staterooms, pampering service, gourmet meals, fabulous entertainment, and numerous extras. "If you take everything the *Ryndam* has to offer," said Capano, "and you add in the exclusive seminars" (there will be several panel sessions—each allowing for significant "Q&A" time—featuring *NR* editors and special guests) "and cocktail receptions, and the *other* special events"—such as *NR*'s famous pool-side smokers featuring H. Upmann cigars—"that *NR* has designed, plus Alaska's unrivaled natural sights, plus the beautiful ports we'll visit, plus the specialized land-tour deal we've negotiated, *plus* the big fare savings we're able to offer, then our subscribers can count on experiencing nothing less than seven awesome, affordable days of vacation and conservative revelry."

"INCREDIBLE DEAL" *BERING STRAIT* TO LUXURY CABINS

Capano confirmed that *National Review* has negotiated an "incredible deal" with Holland America, which has committed to reserving—exclusively for *NR* subscribers—all the *Ryndam*'s available "luxury" staterooms and suites featuring private verandahs.

"Our subscribers demand the best, and that's what these cabins are," boasted Capano. "They provide people a special, private, front-row seat to the glaciers, fjords, and coastline of Alaska. Imagine having cocktails

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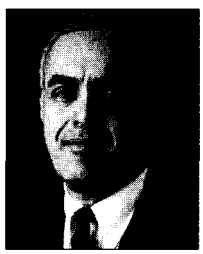
SPECTACULAR 1997 ALASKA CRUISE

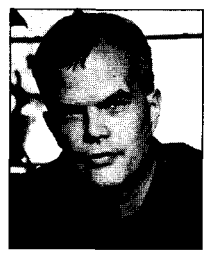
Robert Bork


Robert Novak

Pat Sajak

John O'Sullivan

Kate O'Beirne


Rick Brookhiser

with your loved ones and friends on your private balcony, gazing out at the splendor and beauty of the Inside Passage, with eagles soaring above, whales splashing below. That's the kind of experience we'll be able to deliver."

Under the agreement, some 128 verandah cabins are still available, but for a limited time: *NR* must release its hold on these choice cabins ("*if* any are remaining," said Capano) by December 15th, 1996. Those wanting to reserve these first-come, first-served staterooms are advised to do so *immediately*.

At-Cost Tours Are No *Aleutian*

In a separate agreement, *NR* has also arranged to offer three- to seven-day pre- and post-cruise land tours—at cost! These specially designed tour packages—which can't be purchased *anywhere* for *less*!—will take subscribers "inland" to Mt. McKinley, Denali National Park, Portage Glacier, and the historic cities of Nome and Fairbanks (one tour even goes above the Arctic Circle!), plus cosmopolitan Vancouver. "Whichever package people choose," said Capano, "they can count on it turning their already fabulous cruise vacation into a truly unforgettable experience."

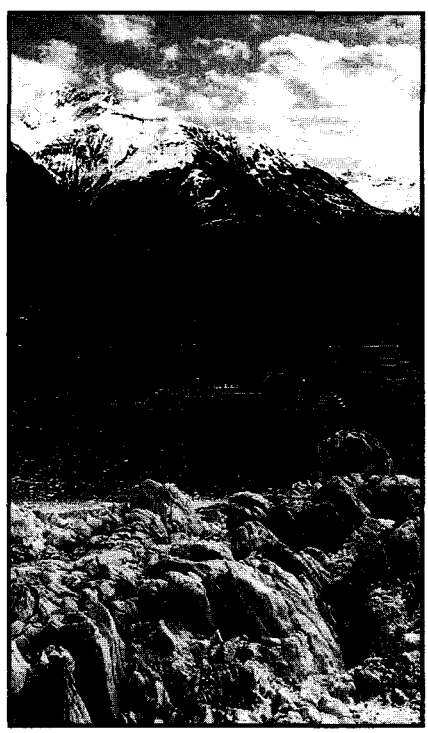
In addition to these special pre- and post-cruise tour packages, the *Ryndam* will offer passengers a wide range of exciting day excursions when it is "in port." *NR* "cruisers" will be able to select from many affordable shore side-trips or adventures—including "flightseeing," kayaking, and fishing. And because Holland America's experience shows that Alaska cruises make for great family vacations, the *Ryndam* will also offer a number of fascinating excursions—including rain forest hikes and trips to Indian villages and "raptor" centers—for children and teenagers.

"Affjordable" Cabins at Big Savings

But in what may be the most startling news about the ***National Review* 1997 Alaska Cruise**, *NR* officials announced that they will offer passage on the trip at rates *significantly below catalogue costs*. Having reserved a wide range of well-appointed and spacious cabins to meet everyone's tastes and means, *NR*'s "affjordable" Alaska fares will save couples up to **$1,200** off published rates for the complete cruise package, which include all meals, taxes, gratuities, port fees, transfers, and admission to all *NR* events.

And as an extra bonus, *National Review* will further reduce fares *another* $100 for anyone who reserves a cabin before December 15th (so couples can save up to **$1,400** off the published catalogue rates!).

In addition, *NR* subscribers can enjoy big savings on air travel by taking advantage of Holland America's special "Fly Cruise" program, which can get people to and from the cruise (and pre- and post-cruise tours) on low-cost, round-trip flights from most major U.S. "gateway" cities.



National Review's all-inclusive cruise prices start as low as $2,094 per person, making the ***National Review* 1997 Alaska Cruise** an affordable vacation option for individuals, couples, and families.

Anyone interested in being part of this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to spend seven days schmoozing and talking policy and politics with Bill Buckley, Milton Friedman, Robert Novak, Robert Bork, Pat Sajak, and *NR*'s editorial luminaries—all while marveling at the grandest of Mother Nature's masterpieces—should call **800-246-9594** to receive the ***National Review* 1997 Alaska Cruise** Information Kit. The kit will provide all the information needed regarding the *Ryndam*'s itinerary, cabins, and programs, as well as all pricing and airfare information.

Delay and You Might Not Get *Inuit*

"Don't delay," warned Capano. "If it's anything like our previous sails, the ***National Review* 1997 Alaska Cruise** will sell out quickly."

Until next time, this has been Ed Skimo, *National Review* Alaska Cruise Correspondent, reporting.

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started attacking Clinton it was too late, and what stuck in voters' minds was the negativity.

Meanwhile, the campaign bounced from tax cuts to drugs to tax cuts to school choice to character to . . . whatever. From the voters' perspective, it was all so much white noise. The campaign displayed a pathological aversion to staying on message. It never even ran a decent ad on the 15 per cent tax cut which was its supposed centerpiece. Dole muddled other messages. When he proposed a modest set of political reforms to highlight the Indogate scandal, for instance, he reinforced the Democrats' line that the problem was current law, not Clinton's failure to abide by it. In indicting the political system in general, he implicitly excused Clinton in particular. Dole's "better man for a better America" slogan was never given political content; like Bush before him, Dole clung to the hope that the public would prefer him as a person to Clinton.

Dole's worst strategic mistake was to heed Richard Nixon's advice to run right in the primaries and then run to the center for the general election. Dole alienated social conservatives and gun-rights supporters and took other conservatives for granted. He distanced himself from the supposedly "extremist" Republican Congress, even though congressional candidates, the Congress as a whole, and the party were always more popular than Dole. At a gathering of Washington conservatives this summer, Fabrizio, acting as the campaign's emissary, brusquely dismissed their complaints with the explanation that they didn't have anywhere else to go. He said they should go along with Dole the way the gay lobby was putting up with Clinton's political infidelities.

Nixon's proposed strategy—which, by the way didn't really describe his own m.o.—presupposed the other candidate's total unacceptability to conservatives. As the exit polls show, that wasn't the case with Clinton. The strategy also poisoned the campaign's relations with Congress. They never were good: House Majority Leader Dick Armey had trouble getting calls returned. But Dole's abandonment of congressional Republicans on the assault-weapons issue was the last straw. They abandoned him by sending Clinton bills he could sign and for which all incumbents could take credit. Dole staffers' bitter complaints about the "betrayal," particularly on welfare, fell on deaf ears. Republicans, in short, did not run as a team, as they had in 1994. The Dole campaign viewed outsiders—even, at times, the RNC—as threats rather than resources.

The campaign's second worst strategic mistake was the neglect of social, moral, and cultural issues. The California Civil Rights Initiative was held at arm's length, then embraced at a point when Dole could only drag it down. Partial-birth abortion was addressed sporadically. "I wish that we had gone to Notre Dame and given a major speech on partial-birth abortion and made a major play for the Catholic vote," says speechwriter Mike Gerson. Drug use was the only social issue Dole dwelt on, and it's the sort of consensus issue that doesn't move many votes. Peter Roff, political director of GOPAC, says, "They decided to run a campaign based largely on economics, which was an interesting experiment and we now see it didn't work."

The list of legitimate criticisms of the campaign is practically inexhaustible. Dole addressed the gender gap by touting his support for the Violence Against Women Act and visiting a shelter for battered women. The campaign didn't court Reagan Democrats. Various states were written off and then put back in play. There was never any follow-through on dramatic events like Dole's resignation from the Senate. In retrospect, the vice-presidential selection was also a mistake. Dole should have picked someone who could deliver a swing state and help with a swing demographic group, someone with a track record of winning votes. A Midwestern Catholic governor like John Engler of Michigan would have met all those tests; Jack Kemp met none of them. As a final indignity, Dole closed the campaign alongside Gerald Ford and George Bush—forming a trio with an impressive seven failed White House bids

Can anything be salvaged from all the self-serving leaks, back-biting, and embarrassments of this campaign? If it results in a reform of the primary process that led to Dole's nomination, some good will have come of it. One conservative activist in Washington proposes another reform. Referring to Dole–Kemp hq, he says, "Nobody who walked into 810 First Street should ever work for Republicans again." □

False Prophets

"We happen to believe, despite the polls, that Bill Clinton will lose to any Republican nominee who doesn't drool on stage."
—Wall Street Journal *editorial, October 30, 1995*

"Woodrow Wilson and FDR are the only Democrats since the Civil War to have won consecutive presidential elections. Bill Clinton is unlikely to follow in their footsteps." ***—William Kristol,* The Weekly Standard, *November 6, 1995***

"My gut tells me that two dozen of those Gingrich robots, the freshmen, are going to bite the dust and the Democrats are going to pick up 25 seats. Mark, I'm not sure I believe it, but it's my prediction and I'm sticking with it."
—Al Hunt* (Wall Street Journal), Capital Gang, *November 2, 1996

Democrats take House by 12 seats ***—Al D'Amato (according to* N.Y. Observer)**
House: 218 D., 215 R. ***—Arianna Huffington***
House: 243 D., 191 R.; Senate 52 D., 48 R. ***—Dick Morris***

Taking the Initiative

Harold Johnson

BETTER late than never? Not if you're Bob Dole, hoisting the banner of Proposition 209, the California Civil Rights Initiative, at the eleventh hour in your doomed quest for the White House.

CCRI, of course, is the initiative to end race and sex preferences by state

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and local government in California. It won solidly on November 5: 54 per cent to 46. But key backers still have the sensation of being mugged by the erratic Dole campaign, which capped months of aggressive aloofness toward CCRI with a gushing embrace on election eve. Some believe the sudden smooch from the graveyard-bound campaign nearly proved a kiss of death.

Bob Dole first endorsed CCRI when the starting gun was sounding on the GOP primary season and he was casting concerned glances over his right shoulder at Phil Gramm and Pat Buchanan. At that point, the measure was widely seen as a victory elixir for the Republican presidential nominee, whoever he might be—a tonic to energize GOP constituencies and fuel Reagan-like raids on Democratic turf.

It never lost that potential. But it did lose the active interest of Bob Dole, once he had the nomination in hand. Maybe it was the wind-borne whisperings of Richard Nixon urging: Run right for the nomination, then shift hard center. Maybe it was the media's chin stroking about the gender gap. In any case, something spooked Dole into a Zen-like silence on CCRI.

When reporters asked him about the issue, his responses were cryptic as only Dole's can be. "I've been for affirmative action," he told one inquirer. "I think that there are some changes that could be made." Colin Powell's Bowie State University address denouncing CCRI? A "fine speech," pronounced Dole.

Indeed, Dole's yearning to get Powell on his ticket is the most widely offered rationale for his backing off Prop. 209. One wonders whether he realized that Powell might be actively consorting with the enemy on the quota issue. Ward Connerly, the steel-spined black businessman who headed the CCRI campaign, tells of blunt letters between himself and Powell following the Bowie State speech. He thought the general was keeping their correspondence confidential—until an attorney who advises the Clinton Administration approached Connerly at a New York reception and started talking, in a detailed way, about the letters.

Maybe pillow talk also influenced

Mr. Johnson is an editorial writer at the Orange County Register.

In this program, there are no right or wrong answers. Only right and left.

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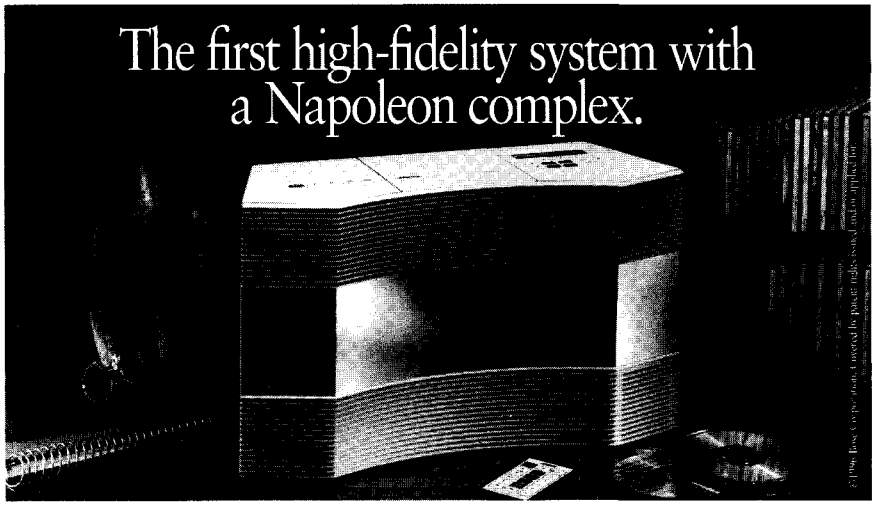

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Dole. Robert Novak reports that Elizabeth Dole voiced worries to Connerly about his initiative. How would it affect outreach programs? she asked. No effect at all, came the reply, as long as they're race- and gender-neutral. But what about the "compensatory outreach" she favored as Secretary of Labor?

Connerly was talking to someone who didn't get it.

Considering that exchange, maybe it shouldn't have been a surprise that Connerly was denied the opportunity to address the GOP Convention in San Diego on racial preferences. But despite such snubs, some outside observers still didn't grasp how forcefully the Dole campaign had distanced itself from CCRI. In the middle of the summer, Ben Wattenberg sounded an alarm in his column, apparently expecting that someone might take heed: "Hey Republicans! Your candidate is down 20 points! This [CCRI] is a plus-40-point issue, that Americans are properly concerned about, that can differentiate Dole from Clinton as Clinton swipes most of the GOP's other social issues."

Almost exactly two months later, at the end of September, leftist-turned-conservative David Horowitz issued a similar plea on the op-ed page of the *Los Angeles Times*. He pointed out that Prop. 209, then at 60 per cent in the polls, was running ahead of Clinton in California. Dole, by embracing it energetically, "could shift 5 per cent to 10 per cent of Clinton's support in the polls, creating a winning margin for himself in November."

The day after this article ran, I was in Century City, interviewing the No. 2 man on the GOP ticket. "David Horowitz is wrong," Jack Kemp declared: Prop. 209 was not the route to victory.

He was even more emphatic at a meeting of political reporters in Los Angeles the same weekend. "We are not going to campaign on a wedge issue," Kemp said. "We have endorsed CCRI, but as a transition to a new era. . . . We are not going to let this issue tear up California."

Kemp's comments, appearing in the newspapers, set phone lines humming and teeth grinding. Principled CCRI supporters believe that what is tearing up California are the race classifications and favoritism that Prop. 209 would end—and that to demean their cause as nothing more than a polarizing "wedge issue" displays a tone-deafness on large and serious questions.

Nevertheless, when Bob Dole, several weeks later, finally decided he was a Prop. 209 man after all, there were few hallelujahs in the CCRI camp. Dole's move looked less like conversion to the cause than a last desperate tactical switch in a campaign that adopted new tactics every seven days or so.

The campaign's prospects in the Northeast and Midwest were dim, House Republican leaders feared big losses in the California delegation, and a California field poll surprisingly showed Dole down "only" 10 points. So the Dole people announced they would be planting their battle flag in the Golden State. And they would be using CCRI as forward artillery.

But by now it was late October—"too late," as David Horowitz notes, "to do anything but look like opportunists in joining the Prop. 209 crusade." The suggestion of cynical political calculation gave a second wind to CCRI foes, who had all along argued that the measure was, indeed, simply a wedge issue, part of a callous strategy for seizing power by dividing the electorate against itself.

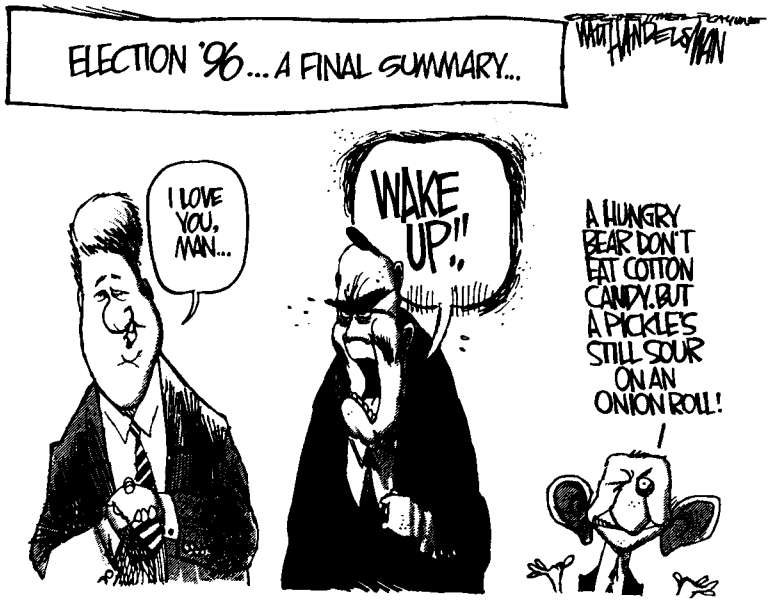
Some top CCRI supporters worried that Republican TV ads attacking Clinton for opposing the initiative would drive away Democratic supporters while overshadowing the upbeat ads of the Prop. 209 campaign itself, with its motto, "Bring us together."

Certainly if the GOP was going to impale Clinton on the issue, it would have had to gin up the effort much earlier. "With a months-long, sustained drive to educate on the evils of quotas and preferences—and to identify the incumbent as the quota defender he is—Dole could have won California and the nation," argues pollster Arnie Steinberg, a founding strategist of CCRI. "But you can't start a week out from the election. That's when you're supposed to be reiterating major themes, not introducing new ones."

IF Dole's gambit wasn't credible enough to breathe new vigor into his own campaign, it apparently did give increased energy to the other side, triggering a flow of money into the anti-209 effort from allies of the Clinton Administration, various liberal interest groups, and some go-along-to-get-along CEOs. *Monday Night Football* the evening before the election carried a hailstorm of ads linking the measure to David Duke and the Klan (and Pat Buchanan and Newt Gingrich for good measure).

This late assault probably drove down the measure's numbers, and may have energized some Democratic voters, contributing to the GOP's loss of control of the state Assembly, and to the loss of at least a couple of House seats.

Despite those dispiriting results, the tally of yes votes on CCRI—at least 4,737,277—was still nearly 100,000 more than Clinton's showing (and 1.3


ELECTION '96... A FINAL SUMMARY...
I LOVE YOU, MAN...
WAKE UP!!
A HUNGRY BEAR DON'T EAT COTTON CANDY. BUT A PICKLE'S STILL SOUR ON AN ONION ROLL!

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million ahead of Dole), suggesting the initiative could have been a powerful engine for a presidential candidacy that had taken it seriously.

So once again: Why would the nominee—and the national GOP establishment he represented—have shown such indifference, for so many months, toward such a politically potent measure?

"A lot of top Republicans were embarrassed by it," Horowitz theorizes. "They don't really believe in it. It doesn't rouse much passion at the country club."

Steinberg sounds a similar note: "Many senior officials in the GOP don't accept the notion that their candidates can win by espousing powerful issues. This is because they're essentially technicians, lacking in moral grounding, moral fiber."

One service the CCRI campaign performed was to bring into the political arena some young potential stars who have the grounding Steinberg is talking about.

There is Errol Smith, the black entrepreneur from Los Angeles who did a TV ad challenging the opposition's fixation with David Duke and friends. "Do I look like a Klansman?" Smith asked viewers.

There is Gail Heriot, the University of Chicago-trained law professor who coolly demolished claims that the initiative would imperil women's rights.

Jennifer Nelson, the campaign's press spokesman, is a crackerjack PR professional who, unlike so many political publicists, is not a mercenary—there is conviction behind what she's saying.

This team may stick together, at least informally, to advise anti-quota drives in other states. The prospect that Prop. 209 could spur emulation also offers the national GOP a second chance to get right on this issue. Republicans don't have to be politically brilliant to seize the opportunity: it would be fine if they acted out of principle, because it's the right thing to do. □

D'Amato Hits the Fan

Herbert London

NO one was more responsible for the nomination of Bob Dole than Senator Alfonse D'Amato. As far back as 1988 D'Amato was defying the New York Republican delegation in an effort to mobilize support for Dole's candidacy. From 1988 to 1996 he worked tirelessly to raise money for Dole and put in place the party framework for his nomination.

As a reward for this tenacity, Senator

Mr. London is John M. Olin Professor of Humanities at New York University.

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Dole put under lock and key until the year 2030 evidence uncovered by the Senate Ethics Committee of Senator D'Amato's alleged malfeasance in a federally subsidized Puerto Rican housing development. On D'Amato's side, it was rumored that the selection of George Pataki as his gubernatorial candidate in 1994 was predicated on Pataki's willingness to endorse Dole in 1996.

Relying on New York State's archaic election laws, D'Amato & Co. delivered 105 delegates to Dole this March in what most analysts described as a rigged election. Steve Forbes and Pat Buchanan were not permitted on the New York ballot until ten days before the primary, when the Second U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals finally decided in their favor. And even then, the Republican organization—because of D'Amato's influence—stood firmly behind Dole. (After the fact, D'Amato, Governor Pataki, and State Republican Chairman William Powers all said that New York's election laws should be revised.) The timing of this New York victory, after the loss in New Hampshire, gave Dole the momentum he needed for Super Tuesday.

D'Amato's loyalty to Dole seemed unyielding. One fund-raiser after another was organized in behalf of the Dole campaign by the New York senator's well-oiled political machine. As co-chairman of the Dole campaign, D'Amato traveled with the candidate, often introducing him with grandiose praise. The first rift in their relationship came when Dole decided against using Arthur Finkelstein, D'Amato's Svengali, as his manager or pollster.

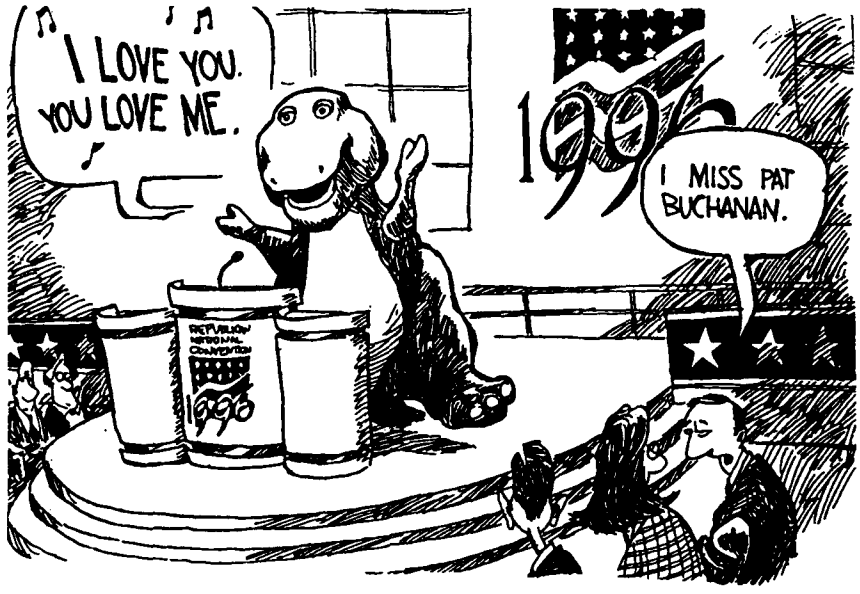
At the Republican Convention in San Diego, D'Amato kept repeating as a sort of mantra that the party must resist a rightward tilt. Since 1992 D'Amato has incrementally moved away from his conservative past. When asked by a New York Conservative Party leader in 1993 why he opposed any restriction on homosexual participation in the military, D'Amato replied, "Because I'm a libertarian." Yet in 1996 this "libertarian" upbraided his colleagues for their "retrograde" stance in opposing the minimum wage. He also engaged in a pre-emptive attack on Newt Gingrich and Pat Buchanan, whom he labeled Republican "ayatollahs" for their positions on the environment, immigration, and abortion.

Approximately a month after the convention, D'Amato offered candidate Dole public advice suggesting that he modify or at least downplay his pro-life position. This was consistent with D'Amato's stand in the 1994 New York gubernatorial race, in which he refused to consider any of the pro-life candidates running for that office (including yours truly). However, it is advice he wisely did not apply to his own 1992 campaign. Had Senator D'Amato not run on the Right-to-Life line he would have lost the race to Robert Abrams. (He won by 85,000 votes, and received more than 200,000 on the Right-to-Life line.)

As this year's campaign went on, D'Amato's enthusiasm for the Dole effort continued to wane. He wasn't traveling with the candidate, and the New York Republican effort for Dole evanesced. In fact, when I asked for signs and brochures at the New York campaign headquarters one month before the election, I was told the campaign had run out weeks earlier and did not have plans to print any more. Governor Pataki demonstrated *his* interest in the Dole–Kemp effort by traveling to Hungary. And state Republican leaders could be heard discussing the need to maintain control of Congress, without any reference to their presidential candidate.

Like a rat leaving a sinking ship, D'Amato was now running as far from Dole as he could

It later came out that D'Amato had privately admitted that he was disappointed in the campaign, referring specifically to the proposal for a 15 per cent tax cut, which he claimed cannot be considered without reductions in Social Security and Medicare. Although he denied making this statement, sources close to him contend it was a continual refrain.



THE culmination of D'Amato's apostasy occurred when he was asked to address an audience at Harvard University. At an October 28 lecture at the Kennedy School of Government, Senator D'Amato, according to a report in the *New York Observer* (November 11), argued that the Dole campaign had veered "off message." He said that Dole "changes emphasis 'every two days.'" "Dole won't listen," he added; presumably Dole wouldn't listen to D'Amato.

Feeling his oats, D'Amato veered off message himself, calling House Majority Leader Dick Armey a "big bag of wind" and predicting a Democratic victory in the House. Believing that the session was off the record, he proceeded to describe Dole as having been Gingrichized and said that Clinton had the election "locked up." D'Amato also

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expressed concern that the revolutionary rhetoric of Armey and Gingrich was scaring off pro-choice women and elderly voters eager to preserve Medicare benefits.

Weeks before the Harvard lecture, D'Amato had turned his attention to promoting the New York State Environmental Bond Act, a $1.75-billion bonanza for environmental groups. Ads appeared featuring the D'Amato family and suggesting that the approval of this bond issue would create a healthy environment for future generations in the state. It was not only his time that D'Amato devoted to this effort. He also spent $1.5 million from his corpulent war chest for ads burnishing his image as an environmentalist. (This war chest, it was reported in the *New York Times*, was $6.7 million—the largest in the nation—thanks to D'Amato's position as chairman of the Senate Banking Committee.) Leaving aside the merits of the bond act, it is curious that the senator would be devoting his time and money to this issue rather than the presidential campaign.

Like a rat leaving a sinking ship, D'Amato was now running as far from Dole as he could. Having once assumed that a Dole victory might secure him a Cabinet position, D'Amato became convinced that his re-election in 1998 was dependent on distancing himself from Dole, Gingrich, and Armey—indeed, on demonizing them. It seems that D'Amato, having the lowest approval rating of any senator in the nation, is attempting to recast himself by abandoning his former friends on the Right.

For orchestrating the Pataki victory in 1994, D'Amato was amply rewarded. According to James Dao and Jane Fritsch in the *New York Times* (September 30, 1996), "From matters of policy to politics to personnel, Mr. D'Amato has emerged as one of the most powerful forces in Albany." The state's vast patronage machine is at his disposal, and he is capable of twisting "the arm of the governor himself."

Now that D'Amato is revealed as the presumptive architect of the Dole defeat—in addition to being a fair-weather friend—it is worth asking if he should receive some penalty for defeat just as he has been enjoying the spoils of victory. □

The Kid-Glove Kids

Gretchen Morgenson

ATTACK early and often. More aggressive ads, more personal attacks. Both would have improved the Dole campaign's chances. Instead we got Dole and Kemp, the Kid-Glove Kids.

Why didn't they assail Clinton as the morally bankrupt opportunist that he is? Why did Bob Dole actually say in the first presidential debate that he liked Bill Clinton? Yes, it's a tricky business for a candidate to go on the offensive. But that's where Dole and all his surrogates should have been. Furthermore, Dole should have come out swinging much sooner than he did against his powerful enemies in the Washington press corps.

Amazingly, Dole allowed himself to be boxed into the No More Mr. Mean Guy role that the media created for him. Afraid to be labeled the Prince of Darkness '96, Dole was far too gentlemanly, far too long. It was as if he thought he'd get friendly or balanced reporting from CNN, the *New York Times,* or CBS if he never went negative. So we had Dole smiling his way through a dirty, mean-spirited, and cynical contest while his surrogates attacked their own man.

Dole's people did run some negative advertising, in states they were hopeful about. Where Dole's ads ran, they worked, as negative ads always do. And, right on cue, the press began wringing its collective hands about how ugly campaign ads have become, and how they undermine democracy. Even the laziest journalist can find a wimp in the crowd, usually a woman, to say she's sick, just sick of all the mudslinging.

The press hates negative advertising, but voters appreciate it. Stephen Ansolabehere, a professor of political science at MIT, is co-author of a book on negative advertising with Shanto Lyengar called *Going Negative* (Free Press). He says that viewers of political ads might say they prefer positives, but they're more likely to believe what they see in negative advertising. "They lead to more informed voters," Ansolabehere says.

Informed voters? Exactly what the press doesn't want. "The conflict between journalists and politicians is who

Miss Morgenson is a senior editor at Forbes *magazine. During the primary season she was Steve Forbes's press secretary.*

"Steve Forbes will win all the key primary contests in February: New Hampshire next Tuesday, Delaware on the 24th, Arizona on the 27th. By month's end, he will be the man to beat for the Republican nomination to face Bill Clinton in November." ***—Christopher Matthews, Tribune Media Services,* The Arizona Republic, *February 13, 1996***

"I think the Gingrich robots are going to pay a price. I mean Helen Chenoweth, the militia momma, is toast. She's gone. Absolutely."

—Al Hunt* (Wall Street Journal), Capital Gang, *October 12, 1996

"Helen Chenoweth better start working on her concession speech."

—Mark Shields, same show

"Oh absolutely. Toast. Yeah." ***—Margaret Carlson* (Time), *same show***

(Chenoweth series courtesy of the Media Research Center)

"If I had to bet today on one person for the Republican presidential nomination, I'd put my money on Colin Powell."

—William Kristol,* The Weekly Standard, *September 18, 1995

"I think he's gonna run. As a military man, he feels a sense of obligation."

—Sam Donaldson

"The conventional wisdom in Washington has gone 180 degrees. The guy's running." ***—Juan Williams,* Washington Post**

Also: ***David Broder, Charles Krauthammer, Rush Limbaugh, John McLaughlin, Carl Rowan, Tim Russert, Evan Thomas, and Ben Wattenberg***

(Powell series courtesy of Howard Kurtz, Forbes Media Critic, *Summer 1996)*

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controls the campaign dialogue," says Robert Lichter, head of the Washington-based Center for Media and Public Affairs. Journalists can't control the debate when the electorate is enlightened by ads comparing candidates' records. This is why the Fourth Estate regularly pesters candidates to sign "no attack ad" pledges.

Attack ads work by dispensing true, if somewhat hyperbolic, information. Attacks on the campaign trail serve the same purpose. "Journalists are competitors for influence," Lichter continues. "Politicians must find a way to go around them." Alas, the Dole campaign did not. Lichter points out that Dole failed to use unmediated media—talk radio, the Internet, TV talk shows—to get his message to voters.

What happens when the media do gain control of the debate? The issues voters care most about get short shrift. *The New Yorker*'s Michael Kelly, reporting on the Helms–Gantt Senate race in North Carolina, provides a compelling example. Not wanting the 1996 race to be as "ugly" as the Helms–Gantt race of six years ago, members of the North Carolina media joined together to force the candidates to discuss "the proper issues." The project, called Your Voice, Your Vote, involved six newspapers, five TV stations, three radio stations, and the state's public-television channel. The group polled 1,000 North Carolinians in January and July, each time asking which issues were "very important" to them. According to the media group, the answers, in order of importance, were: Crime and Drugs; Taxes and Spending; Affordable Health Care; Education. The candidates were to announce their positions on these issues to the members of the group.

But this list omitted an issue that 79 per cent of those polled considered crucial: Families and Values. The journalists literally edited this issue—a Helms issue if there ever was one—right out of the project. Kelly rightly calls Your Voice, Your Vote "anti-democratic—an attempt to increase the power of a journalistic upper class to dictate what are and aren't fit subjects for public debate."

WHAT Kelly is saying is exactly what Dole should have been braying from the moment he won the Republican nomination. Why did Dole wait until mid October to attack the media? When he did, the assault was a success, if only for a few days, because it actually forced the press to cover itself as an issue in the campaign. This should have been Job #1 for Bob Dole. A dogged campaign against reporters would have energized GOP waverers, perhaps even brought some independents into the camp. Professor Ansolabehere says his research found attack ads work better with independent voters than positive ads do. Dole needed all the independents he could get.

The irony is, of course, that the press winds up being much more negative than the attack ads it is criticizing. Ads, after all, are based, however one-sidedly, on facts; news stories nowadays are based on feelings. Consider what Robert Lichter found when he studied the reportage in the Republican primary season. While the vast majority of candidate speeches and ads—86 per cent and 83 per cent respectively—focused on policy issues or candidates' qualifications, the most frequent theme of TV news coverage was the allegedly hostile tone of the campaign. And while Lichter found that Lamar Alexander, Pat Buchanan, Bob Dole, and Steve Forbes conducted mostly positive campaigns, negative reports on the evening news outnumbered positive ones 2 to 1.

There may never have been a candidate more vulnerable on character issues than Clinton, yet Dole gave him a pass

Once the general-election campaign got under way, Dole and Kemp should have attacked Clinton's lack of character not obliquely but head on. Indeed, with Ross Perot likening Bill and Hillary to Bonnie and Clyde and asking audiences whether, if they owned a McDonald's, they would trust Bill with the keys to the cash register, Clinton's lead over Dole started to shrink. There may never have been a candidate more vulnerable to attack on these issues than President Clinton, and yet Bob Dole gave him a pass.

Meanwhile, Clinton was saying that Dole would oversee Medicare's demise, allow polluters to rewrite environmental laws, and blow a hole in the deficit with his "tax-cut scheme." But Clinton never got scolded for being mean.

Memo to Republican handlers planning the 2000 race: The press will whine about negative campaigns, rain or shine. Ignore them. Hammer away at your opponent. Take off the kid gloves and slip on the brass knuckles. Give the media something they can really complain about: a real conservative in the White House. □

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Family, Faith, and Freedom

Gary Bauer

THE re-election of a scandal-plagued President who earned nearly eight million fewer votes than Ronald Reagan did in 1984 has many Republicans in a state of sad bewilderment. What went wrong? It may be more appropriate to ask what didn't go right. Or more precisely, *who* didn't go right.

Bob Dole didn't, Bill Clinton did, and the rest, as you know, is history.

After inviting voters to see him as "the better man for a better America," Bob Dole demonstrated a persistent inability to articulate—let alone defend and promote—a conservative, pro-family vision for America. Indeed, he chafed visibly whenever social issues arose. Consequently, as Bill Clinton donned conservative rhetoric with the affected ease of Lamar Alexander in a flannel shirt, voters were unable to distinguish between the two candidates. With so few policy contrasts between Dole and Clinton before the election, is it any surprise that President Clinton now says he would welcome Republicans in his Cabinet—including Colin Powell?

Consider the October 16 presidential debate. With polls showing at least 6 in 10 Americans as being deeply opposed to gay marriage, a question on group rights for homosexuals offered Dole the chance for an easy home run. "Would you support equal rights for gays in employment?" asked a female minister from the openly gay Metropolitan Community Church. Given the opportunity to distinguish himself from the man who pocketed $3.5 million in campaign contributions from the homosexual lobby in 1992 and who made overturning the gay military ban one of his first acts as Commander-in-Chief, Dole didn't merely whiff, he didn't even step up to the plate. "I'm opposed to discrimination," Dole stammered. Then, in a string of truncated sentences, he added, "So we want to end discrimination. No discrimination in America. We shouldn't discriminate, be it race, color, whatever. Lifestyle. Disability. This is America, and we're all proud of it." At a time when millions of Americans want help in fighting the indoctrination of their children in public schools and the derision of marriage as a lifelong commitment between one man and one woman, Bob Dole shrugged "whatever" and suggested it really doesn't matter. Why, then, should it matter to the American people which man serves as President?

Jack Kemp fared little better in his face-off against Al Gore. Moderator Jim Lehrer spoke for millions of Americans when he said to Mr. Kemp: "Some are saying these days that something has gone terribly wrong with the American soul, that we've become too mean, too selfish, too uncaring." The spitting incident involving the Baltimore Orioles' Roberto Alomar was then invoked. "What do you think about that?" Lehrer asked. In contrast to Gore, who responded that Alomar should have been "severely disciplined, suspended, perhaps immediately," the former NFL quarterback could not give a simple definition of good sportsmanship, much less a persuasive argument against today's rising tide of vulgarity, drug abuse, illegitimacy, abortion, and crime. Kemp waxed philosophical about creating more jobs and more access to credit and capital. He called for "more chairs, a bigger table, a greater banquet." But the concern in voters' minds has more to do with the demise of *manners* at that table.

Americans fear not only the demise of civility, of course, but also the loss of virtue as the foundation on which all else depends. Limited government, free enterprise, equal opportunity—the ideals that Jack Kemp so eagerly proclaimed—*presuppose* a moral order based on individual responsibility, marital fidelity, family stability, and public accountability for elected officials. That neither Bob Dole nor Jack Kemp could articulate these basic principles is tragic.

In fact, it took a 16-year-old schoolgirl to raise an issue that Dole and Kemp would not: the horror of partial-birth abortion. Confronting Bill Clinton over a method of abortion that even some pro-choice members of Congress liken to infanticide, young Mary Ellen Savolie was treated to Clinton's legendary look of lip-biting compassion. He then uttered the most blatant falsehood the presidential campaign trail has ever heard: that he desperately wanted to sign the ban. A teenaged girl left Clin-

Mr. Bauer is president of the Family Research Council.

The Right Stuff

"The labor movement is likely to turn more militant if, as expected, [John] Sweeney wins the [AFL–CIO presidential] election next month."
—Ramesh Ponnuru, "Labor Pains," NR, October 9, 1995

"All these obstacles suggest that the upper limit for Forbes may be the role of spoiler." ***—Rich Lowry, "Rich and Spoiler," NR, January 29, 1996***

"It's hard to find a state on the map Alexander is likely to win other than Tennessee." ***—Kate O'Beirne, Rich Lowry, Ramesh Ponnuru, "The Spirit of '96," NR, March 11, 1996***

"The Presidency: Bill Clinton, of course, wins in a walk, but a closer walk than people think. The President will be held below 50 per cent—probably the 47–48 range—dealing a blow to his plans to claim an election mandate (the press may well give him one anyway)." ***—Pre-election predictions, "Washington Bulletin," National Review Online, November 5, 1996***

"The Senate: Republicans gain two or three seats. Republicans will pick up seats in the South; they will certainly win the open Howell Heflin seat in Alabama."
—Pre-election predictions, "Washington Bulletin," National Review Online, November 5, 1996

"Meanwhile, the only Republican incumbent who will lose is Sen. Larry Pressler, who is trailing in South Dakota. Sen. Bob Smith will pull it out in New Hampshire, and Sen. Jesse Helms will be fine in North Carolina." ***—Pre-election predictions, "Washington Bulletin," National Review Online, November 5, 1996***

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ton's company misinformed but with what many Americans anxiously wanted from the GOP candidates and could not get: the belief that they were being taken seriously.

What *was* taken seriously in this campaign was the high-priced counsel of pollsters and consultants who urged Dole along the primrose path of "moderation." Millions of dollars were spent on these longtime Washington insiders who haven't the vaguest recollection of life before or beyond the Beltway. By and large, Dole followed their advice, and thus joined the growing list of losers, which now includes Gov. Bill Weld and Rep. Peter Torkildsen of Massachusetts and Rep. Dick Zimmer of New Jersey. Ironically, the gender gap proved larger for Bob Dole than for congressional Republicans—thereby refuting the claim that pressing pro-life, pro-family issues hurts GOP candidates. These gurus of campaign strategy have become what might be called "unelected incumbents." If it's not time to throw the bums out, it's certainly time to audit the millions spent to produce yet another major campaign loss.

High-priced consultants urged Dole along the primrose path of 'moderation'

Today it's relatively easy to evaluate the lapses of the campaign. More painful, perhaps, for pro-family advocates is a look at where we, too, went wrong. Eager to find favor with the odds-on choice for the GOP nomination, some of my allies offered themselves to the Dole camp as willing and eager when they should have insisted on a decent courtship. They didn't play hard to get, and so got nothing. Nods by major pro-family organizations early in the primaries enabled the struggling Dole campaign to breathe easier while, at the same time, it enervated the more conservative contenders for the nomination. These groups allowed themselves to be wooed with a party platform that Mr. Dole never read (or intended to read). Promises of strong words against partial-birth abortion, Filegate, Whitewater, and other Clinton outrages remained only that: promises.

Having settled once again for second-class status, we conservatives aided and abetted Dole's inclination to avoid altogether the social issues that are central to our country's future. At the end of the final presidential debate, Mr. Dole declared: "What we need is good, strong leadership going into the next century." His defeat once again illustrates that, without a grasp of the good and without strength of conviction, Republicans cannot win, will not win, and do not deserve to win.

In the future, we should offer no endorsements until they are earned, no commitments until they are reciprocated, and no contributions (in either money or manpower) until we have a candidate who can express a compelling conviction that family, faith, and freedom are goods of the highest order. □

Reform-Party Blues

Richard Lamm

ROSS Perot's biggest mistake in the 1996 campaign was deciding he could really be elected President. Perot was (and perhaps still is) mesmerized by that magic moment in May of 1992 when the polls showed him beating both President Bush and Bill Clinton. He is haunted by the fact that at one time he had the ear of the American public, and that they responded in sufficient numbers to win him a poll for the Presidency. Compounding this was the enchanting knowledge that 1992 exit polls showed that a majority of the voting public would have voted for him "if they thought that he could be elected." Heady stuff this—even for a billionaire.

Perhaps if a few things had been different in 1992, he could have been a real contender. He believes very deeply that America is ignoring nation-threatening problems, and he has the resources and populist instinct to get his message to the public. He also recognizes that party loyalty is rapidly disappearing in the United States, and that a substantial majority of the American public say they want a third choice. Change a few elements in Ross's personality, and who knows?

But we do know that by 1996, the American public had made up their mind on Ross Perot. They admired him for what he had done, in both the public and private sectors, but they did not want Ross Perot to be President—and by 1996 everyone knew it but Ross Perot. The public would give him their admiration and their attention—but not their vote.

Arnold Toynbee once observed that the same elements which build up an institution eventually lead to its downfall. How true. It took a guy like Ross Perot to challenge the two-party system. He has the self-confidence and the capital to create a new party. He also recognizes that the existing political system is dominated by special-interest money, and that we are leaving our children an albatross of debt because of our inability to make any hard choices. He has the right message but is the wrong messenger. The same talents that made him a successful businessman and party founder were flaws in him as a presidential candidate. Despite his talk that "the Reform Party is not about me," it is obvious that it *is*. Ross Perot wants to be President. He has touched political fire and cannot forget it. Ross did nothing to help any of the candidates who were attracted to run for other offices on the Reform Party ticket. He gave them no money, he made no endorsements, he participated in none of their rallies. He was not so much interested in building a grassroots party as he was in building a vehicle to promote his quixotic race for President. As one who believes that America does need a third party and that campaign reform, a balanced budget, and immigration are three issues that are unlikely to be solved by the

Mr. Lamm, former governor of Colorado (1975 to 1987), is now director of the Center for Public Policy & Contemporary Issues at the University of Denver.

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existing parties, this was a wasted opportunity. When all is said and done, more got said than done.

Politics, like air, abhors a vacuum. And some third party will fill that vacuum if the Reform Party does not. □

What Does Woman Want?

Danielle Crittenden

BILL Clinton's popularity among women voters was all too reminiscent of the pop best-seller *Smart Women, Foolish Choices*. If George Bush resembled, as the joke went, every woman's first husband, then Bill Clinton resembled every woman's first boyfriend—the one who seduces you with promises and afterward breaks your heart. It seems amazing that the female electorate would fall for this bounder, so familiar were his come-ons: his earnest protestations that he cared about us and all our little problems, his gosh-darn stammer that implied, "People say I'm bad, but I know *you* don't think so," and the way he would sheepishly glance up, mid-sentence, to see if we were taking the bait. The outcome of the election appeared to confirm the bounder's theory: "Yes, women are suckers." To those of us who didn't swoon, it was enough to make one consider a sex change.

The temptation for Republicans now will be to imitate Bill Clinton's methods with women—in the political sense, of course. Democrats and their sympathizers in the press have consistently claimed that the gender gap proves that women reject the supposedly harsh, mean-spirited policies of the Republican Congress. The only way to appeal to female voters, the lesson goes, is to become squishy. No doubt Newt Gingrich is already standing in front of his bathroom mirror, practicing biting his lower lip. But before Republican men get too caught up in reforming themselves, they should understand which women it was, exactly, who rejected them—and why.

Exit polls indicated a 17-point overall gender gap—consistent with the polls in the months leading up to the election. But when you put that gap under a microscope, you discover that it was less a gender gap than it was a marriage gap. Unmarried women, including single moms, were far more likely to vote for Bill Clinton than married mothers and middle-income women, particularly those "soccer moms"—married suburban women with kids—who were supposed to turn out for the President in droves. Among married women, the difference was only five points: 48 *v.* 43 per cent, according to ABC News exit polls. Black women, on the other hand, favored Clinton by 81 points over Dole, and the President managed to charm 62 per cent of single women.

In a sense, then, the Democratic critics were right: the majority of Clinton's female supporters depended in some way on the entitlements most threatened by the Republican Congress, and voted to protect them. In politics as in life, women marry the guy they think will give them economic security. Nothing surprising there. What *is* surprising is that in a time when liberalism has fallen into such disrepute, so many women remain persuaded that Democratic policies of high taxes and programs that undermine their families and marriages are actually in their interest. It goes, too, against female voting patterns in other major democracies, where women habitually vote with the conservative party. In Britain, Labour would have won every election since 1945 if women did not have the vote (except in 1983, just after Mrs. Thatcher's popular dusting of Argentina).

In the United States, however, where conservatism is the new and dynamic force, liberalism remains the status quo. To cast a vote against the old entitlement programs—to vote in favor of

Miss Crittenden is editor of The Women's Quarterly, *published by the Independent Women's Forum in Washington.*

The following memo was recently uncovered by congressional investigators, who believe it might have been inadvertently included among a group of documents released by the White House.

MEMORANDUM

TO: STAFF
FROM: JACK QUINN, COUNSEL
SUBJECT: LEGAL BILLS

AS we prepare for the President's second term, many of you have expressed concerns about being called before Republican-led congressional committees investigating campaign-finance issues.

Some of you are aware that in previous investigations the Justice Department has approved reimbursement for legal costs incurred by White House staffers forced to retain personal lawyers.

I wish all of you could receive such funding for future probes, but DOJ has recently informed us that further approvals will not be possible unless we take measures to control rising costs. To that end, beginning today White House personnel needing legal representation will be required to join the new White House VMO, or Viability Maintenance Organization.

WHVMO will consist of a pool of attorneys selected from the Washington area. Each staffer will be required to choose a lawyer from the pool and consult him on all matters concerning his or her case. WHVMO will pay 100 per cent of bills submitted by approved attorneys. If the staffer feels the need to consult a specialist practicing outside WHVMO, he or she must obtain a recommendation from his WHVMO "gatekeeper" to do so; services provided by counsel outside the WHVMO network will be reimbursed at 50 per cent of cost.

I know some of you are unhappy with the new arrangement, believing it interferes with your right to choose the lawyer most suited to your particular needs. However, the volume of legal representation for staff requires cost-control measures.

If you have any questions, please feel free to talk to me or the new WHVMO administrator, Ira Magaziner. □

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reforming and cutting Medicare, Social Security, welfare, etc.—is to take the stance of the progressive. Clinton's brilliance as a politician is to persuade people—and particularly women—that he is the bold visionary of the next century, while not really threatening any of the programs with which people have grown comfortable.

I remember, after my first baby was born, reading Dr. Spock on infant toys. He warned that you should never startle a baby with something shockingly new: babies like a toy that is very much like the last one, only slightly different. I thought this was a profound insight into human taste in general. When something is new, we like it also to be familiar. In this way, women might be even more conservative than men.

As organizers of the summer's political conventions understood, women prefer their issues soft-pedaled, and accompanied with the political equivalent of chocolates and flowers (i.e., lip service to schools and family, and a lot of personal gush). But I would add that they need to have new ideas—particularly economic ones—presented to them in terms that don't seem radical or threatening. Imagine this scenario: Fred, feeling frustrated at the quarry, announces to Wilma that he is quitting his job to develop a new flying contraption that will make them all rich. Now compare it to this one: Fred, feeling frustrated at the quarry, tells Wilma that in his spare time on weekends he is going to develop a new flying contraption that will make them all rich. Which plan will Wilma opt for? That, in essence, is the female vote.

Make it plain—the way Reagan did—that the Republican approach is the compassionate, wise, and decent one

Perhaps, then, the lesson Republicans should take from the gender gap is not to become squishy—but to become duller. Tell Newt to get off Toffler and "bold futurism" and all the rhetoric about the conservative "revolution." Discuss chopping budgets and entitlement programs with the sobriety, and lack of worry, of a good accountant. Make it plain—the way Reagan did—that the Republican approach to governing is the compassionate, wise, and decent one, while it's the Democrats who line the path to ruin.

And maybe by the next election, when women have woken up to discover that their President has left them high and dry without so much as a note of good-bye, there will be a more plausible Republican suitor, waiting to win them back. □

Dropping the Ball

David Frum

WHEN you toss a clove of garlic into a food processor, it bounces off the whirring blade, hits the Plexiglass wall, is bounced back in front of the blade, and is then instantly hacked into little pieces. It took 90 minutes longer, but that's pretty much what happened to Jack Kemp on the night of his debate with Vice President Al Gore.

Over the past four months, Kemp has traversed a giddy career arc: a has-been in July, a hero in August, a disappointment in September, a disaster in October, and a has-been again by November. For two weeks after Bob Dole's choice of Kemp as his running-mate, many of us searched our closets for the "Kemp '88" buttons we'd bought at the Detroit Convention of 1980. Would our old heart-throb finally vindicate the hopes we had placed in him?

In a word: no. Nobody would describe the 1996 Dole campaign as a success, but the performance of Dole's running-mate was little short of a scandal. It wasn't just the debate, as horrific as that was: Kemp complacently accepting Gore's poisonous congratulation for being one of the few Republicans untainted by racism, Kemp attacking the Clinton Administration for taking too tough a line on Iraq, Kemp blaming the United States for the collapse of the Mexican peso in 1994, and so incredibly, appallingly on. But the debate only revealed to a national audience what those following the campaign were exposed to every day.

If the Republicans were to win the presidential election, they needed to do three things: mobilize Republican voters by convincing them of the ticket's commitment to the promised 15 per cent tax cut, wobble Democratic voters by reminding them of Clinton's character flaws, and move swing voters with powerful emotive issues like quotas, immigration, school choice, and the defense of the traditional family. The Republicans failed on all three counts. The failure cannot be blamed on Kemp alone, but he sure didn't help.

On the tax cut, for instance, Republicans needed to do more than offer voters a $1,600 present. They needed to connect their plans to the fear felt by 70 per cent of voters that the next generation of Americans will not enjoy a higher standard of living than this generation. If Kemp was on the ticket to do anything, it was to make the case for tax cuts. He failed repeatedly.

Attacking the top of the opposing ticket is a traditional responsibility of the number-two nominee. Few incumbents have ever been so vulnerable on this issue as Bill Clinton: indeed, the explosion of news about gifts from Indonesian billionaires seems to have knocked three or four points off his lead in the last week of the campaign. Jack Kemp not only refused to perform this job, but also endorsed the Clinton campaign's claim that clear and credible allegations of perjury, bank fraud, obstruction of justice, sexual harassment, violations of campaign-finance laws, and illegal use of the FBI by the President and his wife are somehow beneath respectable notice.

It was on the great galvanizing issues of the campaign, however, that Kemp most badly let Republicans down.

Mr. Frum is the author, most recently, of What's Right.

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Where was Kemp, a California native son, in the struggle for the California Civil Rights Initiative? Before Kemp got the vice-presidential nod, he blasted CCRI as divisive—an opinion he never to my knowledge retracted. What did Kemp, supposedly the Dole campaign's bridge to social and religious conservatives, have to say about President Clinton's two-faced stance on the Defense of Marriage Act? If anything, Kemp seems to have specialized in inventing issues to be used *against* the GOP: his weird fascination with Louis Farrakhan, for example, or his unconvincing denial of contradictions between his pre-nomination position on immigration and his new one.

Since the middle 1960s, Republicans have dominated presidential politics very largely because voters perceived them as the party of grown-ups, while Democrats were fatally dismissed as the party of wishful thinkers. On foreign policy, crime, taxes, the budget, and social issues, the Republicans were seen to understand the need for tough choices, while the Democrats took refuge in mushy thinking and desperate attempts to please everybody. Bob Dole, for all his many faults as a candidate, at least belonged to that proud tradition of statesmanship. Jack Kemp demonstrated in the most spectacular possible way that nowadays, with his new political bearings, he does not. □

Two Cheers for Newt

Richard Brookhiser

LAST month a crack about the 104th Congress and, implicitly, Speaker Newt Gingrich made the rounds: *For the first time in forty years, the Republicans have a chance of taking Congress*. In 1995 they bestrode the narrow world like colossi; in 1996 they were anxiously playing the odds.

There was back-handed praise for Gingrich in the gibe, though, if one thought about it. The GOP took the House in 1994 when no one gave it a chance. Joe Martin, the last Republican Speaker of the House, gave up the gavel in January 1955. I was born in February. That is how long it had been. Yet Gingrich pulled it off. Now the GOP has succeeded a second time. Give Newt a tip of the hat for that.

But the Gingrich revolution was supposed to have been about more than office-holding. The peroration of Newt's stump speech was a litany of urgent responsibility. "It is impossible to maintain civilization with 12-year-olds having babies, 15-year-olds killing each other, 17-year-olds dying of AIDS, and 18-year-olds getting diplomas they can't even read." For the last year, all we heard of the 104th Congress instead was gridlock and Medicare. What went wrong?

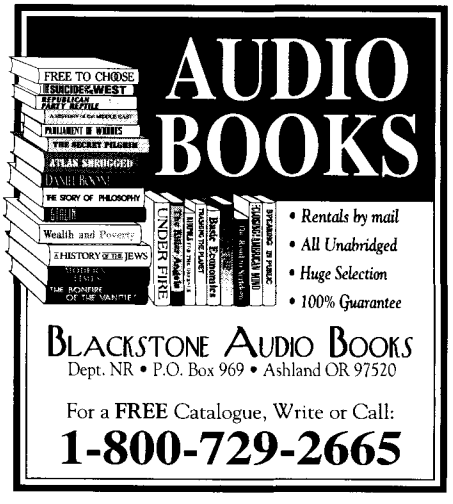
The Speaker's personality undoubtedly played a role in this reversal. The sunny side of Newt is energy, curiosity, and even (in groups disposed to like him) charm. But these come with rough edges. There is an odd impersonality about the man. The happiest I have ever seen Gingrich is in the photo of him with the binturong, the Southeast Asian zoo creature that jumped on his head and bit him. If Bill Clinton is a people person, Newt Gingrich is a binturong person. He can also be temperamental, especially when those he has trusted (perhaps unwisely) let him down. The symbol of these cross-currents came when Gingrich griped about Clinton's etiquette on the flight back from Yitzhak Rabin's funeral. Popular anxiety about his flaws was already there. But politicians must take care to avoid moments that crystallize their defects.

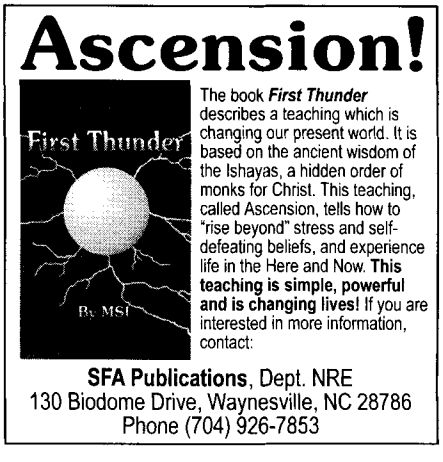
The policy turning point for Gingrich was the decision in the fall of 1995 to try to balance the budget without a Balanced Budget Amendment. The House had passed nine of the ten items in the Contract with America. The wise thing, as Kate O'Beirne said at the time, would have been for Republicans to admit defeat, blame the Democrats, and move on. Instead, Gingrich and his cohorts decided that they could achieve the same goal by legislative rather than constitutional means. But this meant addressing entitlements at a time when a President of the opposite party lay poised to descend upon their flank.

Reasonable political considerations drew Gingrich into the debacle. Budget balancing had been the theme of the first Perot campaign, and the Perot voters went Republican in 1994. But the main factor was the hubris that infected all congressional Republicans in 1995. In Gingrich's case, hubris was amplified by philosophy.

Gingrich's philosophy is schizophrenic (see "Tout Newt," *NR*, March 20, 1995). Half of it consists of devotion to the Founders and Tocqueville. The other half is a spurious theory of history, learned from Alvin and Heidi Toffler. The Tofflers teach that there have been three phases of human existence, characterized by agriculture, industry, and information (newly emerging). It is mind candy, Marxism for computer geeks. But like other three-phase theories, it is a promise of power: he who knows the next phase, and attaches him-

Mr. Brookhiser is an NR *senior editor.*

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self to it, rules. The witches in *Macbeth* expound a similar theory, hailing Macbeth as Thane of Glamis, Thane of Cawdor, and King hereafter. Winning the Speakership made Newt Thane of Glamis; passing the Contract made him Thane of Cawdor. Balancing the budget would make him King hereafter.

A final reason Gingrich took on the budget may well have been discomfort with the other issues that beckoned—the social issues, and the issues making up the "national question." Take quotas. Here was an issue that was sure to be in the public eye, thanks to CCRI. There existed a bill (co-sponsored by Bob Dole) that would have addressed the question. Why did Gingrich punt? "Newt thinks in pictures," a member of the House leadership told me early this year, "and he could not see himself taking a position on affirmative action which J. C. Watts [the black GOP congressman from Oklahoma] would be opposing." The Republican Congress tackled partial-birth abortion, gay marriage, and welfare. But many another issue fell by the wayside, for Pat Buchanan to fondle. Some conservatives have lost patience. "We got our people into leadership," Paul Weyrich, Beltway *Macher* and long-time Gingrich ally, complained, "but we are not getting different policies."

The longest conversation I have ever had with Gingrich was about George Washington. He recommended, along with Gordon Wood and Henry Cabot Lodge, a Howard Fast novel about the Revolution. In the fall of 1776, Washington abandoned New York, leaving over two thousand men in a fort at the northern end of Manhattan. Young Nathanael Greene, one of his best generals, told him the fort could hold out, but the British took it. Washington tells a wretched Greene that things are bad, and will get worse. But they will go on.

Maybe Gingrich has been telling himself this. It's time for a Battle of Trenton. □

No Recriminations, Thank You

Michael Barone

YOU can't win 'em all. Republicans and conservatives, it can be argued, won most of the battles for office and of ideas November 5. It's just that Bob Dole didn't win the Presidency, which anyway is not so central in this post–Cold War era as it was from March 1933 through December 1989. And it's not so clear that another Republican nominee could have beaten Bill Clinton. Presidential elections tend to be referenda on the performance of the incumbent, and in times of peace and prosperity it is very hard for an incumbent to lose.

To be sure, the crucial mid-segment of the electorate, as I found from interviewing voters in key states throughout the year, were tentative, ambivalent, even embarrassed in their support for Bill Clinton, enough so that I always thought it wrong to rule out the possibility of a Republican victory. And enough of them wavered at the end so that he won with only 49 per cent—far less than the 59 to 61 per cent won by the last three incumbents to run in times of perceived peace and prosperity. But could Lamar Alexander (who came close to winning the nomination, winning just 7,000 votes behind Dole's second-place total in New Hampshire) have beaten Clinton? Could Steve Forbes? Pat Buchanan? Phil Gramm? Richard Lugar? However many mistakes the Dole campaign made, and however far short of forcefully making the Republican case Dole fell, it is by no means obvious to me that the answer to that question in any case is yes, and I am sure that in some cases the answer is no. The same goes for leading Republicans who chose not to run for the nomination—Dan Quayle, Dick Cheney, Jack Kemp. Colin Powell, unless he had proved an inept campaigner, would have beaten Clinton soundly; but would that have been a conservative victory?

So while others indulge in recriminations, let me survey what Republicans and conservatives won over the last four years. First, it is plain to everyone that Clinton won not because the country moved left, but because he moved right. "The era of big government is over": he may not believe it, he may be contriving to bring big government back; but he felt obliged to say it, and to say almost nothing that would seem to contradict it. That is significant.

Those are words; look at deeds. The liberal agenda in the early 1990s was to increase taxes, federalize health-care financing, and promote public jobs and government services in order to reform welfare. For all these measures intellectually serious arguments were advanced, and for all of them political progress was being made. Congressional Democrats foisted a tax increase onto George Bush and congressional Republican leaders Bob Dole and Bob Michel in 1990. Harris Wofford's surprise victory in the 1991 Pennsylvania Senate race made health-care reform suddenly an attractive national issue. Daniel Patrick Moynihan was preparing, as Senate Finance Committee Chairman, to take Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign promise to "end welfare as we know it" as an opportunity to pass a welfare-re-

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form bill along lines he had advocated for years.

The important public-policy story of the last four years is that all these projects failed. Congressional Democrats did get Clinton to sponsor a tax increase in 1993 that passed by one vote in each House of Congress. But it was a classic pyrrhic victory, for it led to the Democrats' resounding loss of both Houses of Congress in 1994. Since then, almost no American politician at almost any level of government has called for increasing taxes. Tax increases have become unthinkable. (Even taxes on the rich: California voters this year rejected a ballot proposition to increase taxes only on those with incomes over $115,000.) Democrats and liberals who want to expand government have to make do with revenues from current taxes. And they have had to at least appear to move toward a balanced budget in 2002, forced not just by Republicans in Congress but by economic markets across the world, as interpreted by Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin and Federal Reserve Chairman (and the most important appointee of the second Clinton term, safe in office until June 2000) Alan Greenspan. And, as Moynihan has long pointed out, the demand for a balanced budget combined with mandated increases for spending on the entitlement programs of Social Security and Medicare means that spending on other ("discretionary") domestic spending must decline. As in fact it did in the 1995–96 federal budget.

On health care and welfare almost no one, except possibly Moynihan, expected on election night 1992 what has happened in the four years since: that America would move to devolve power from the Federal Government toward state and local governments and toward private citizens and voluntary associations in the states. The Democratic Congress's refusal in 1994 to pass Hillary Rodham Clinton's health-care plan was in effect a decision to keep health-care policy devolved. And Bill Clinton's decision in 1996 to sign the Republican Congress's third welfare-reform bill was a decision to devolve welfare. These are outcomes which would have astonished those cheering Bill Clinton on election night 1992 and which must have embarrassed most of those cheering him on election night 1996.

The next big issue is Medicare. It has been conventional wisdom for a year that Newt Gingrich's Medicare reform would be disastrous for the Republican Party. It turned out not to be so. A decade ago it would have been. The GI generation that grew up in the Depression, fought in World War II, and built prosperous postwar America felt a moral entitlement to Social Security and Medicare, a moral entitlement that is not a matter of simple greed, and these people have always retaliated against those who proposed cuts. But the GI generation is dying out, being replaced in the electorate by Generation Xers who expect to receive little or no benefit from these programs and resent paying FICA taxes for them. By mid October,

(Continues on page 72)

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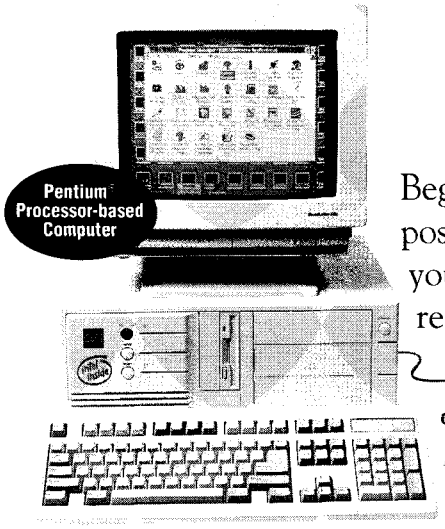

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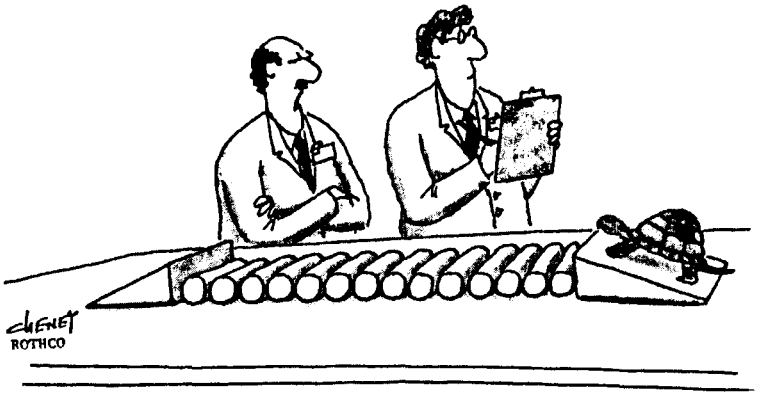
help

A Quickie Analysis

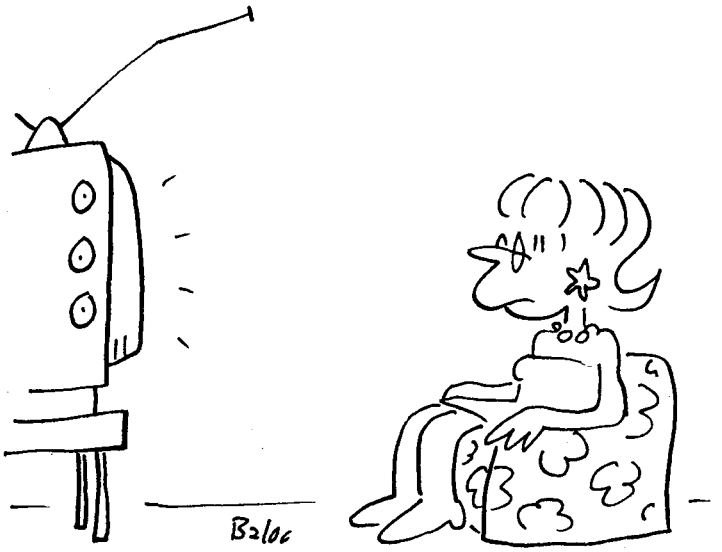
With a Billy Sunday manner
And a lounging lizard's slouch,
Mr. Clinton purrs in pulpits
Or an after-hours couch.
He's as smooth as Frank Sinatra,
With an overlay of Bing.
Under lap robes in the rumble,
Few report the motor's ping.

—W. H. VON DREELE

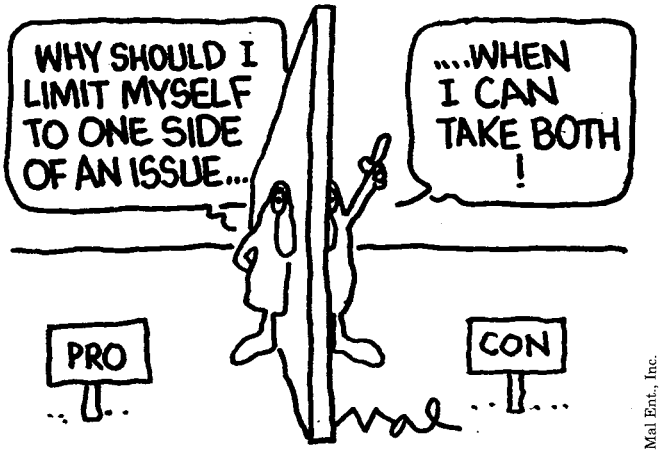
"Your name has come up in our biscuits-for-tricks inquiry."



"I admire your optimism."



"When asked to explain his foreign policy, the President today sang the National Anthem."



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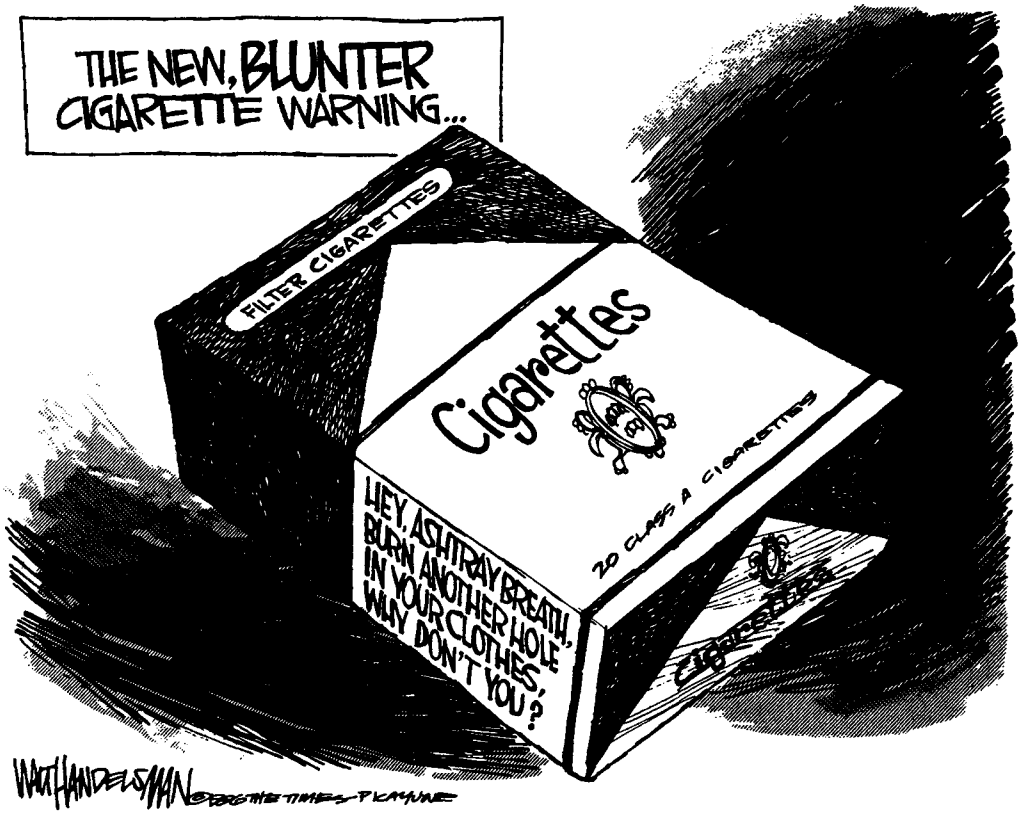
THE NEW, BLUNTER CIGARETTE WARNING...
FILTER CIGARETTES
Cigarettes
20 CLASS A CIGARETTES
HEY, ASHTRAY BREATH, BURN ANOTHER HOLE IN YOUR CLOTHES, WHY DON'T YOU?
WATHANDELSMAN

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

November 17, 1996

Dear Rusty,

Is it me, or did we win?

I'm not trying to be huffy here, but we did win, right? I mean, I guess my question is, if we won, then why do we need to have quite so many discussions about "reaching out" to Colin Powell and "building bridges" with Dick Gephardt?

In the first place, I'm not sure why we're making so many changes in the Administration. Forgive me, but I think the one we had was pretty darn good. Donna Shalala was a killer over at HHS; Henry Cisneros did a bang-up job at HUD; and Warren Christopher was one of the best Secretaries of State we've had, considering his age and the fact that he has no presidential ambition.

Americans voted for the status quo. Why in heaven's name aren't we giving it to them?

If I sound angry, Rusty, it's because I am. The Gore family is knocking itself out trying to prepare for the next election. For the next three years, the girls have promised to stay away from creepy boyfriends and avoid big desserts; and little Al, bless his heart, is taking up soccer. "Now you're a soccer mom!" he shouted with glee, and Tipper promised to drive him to every game from September 1999 to November 2000 and to publicly complain about her "crazy schedule." Karenna thinks she may be ready to get married, so we're on the lookout for a) a suitable groom, and b) the right Saturday in May 2000 for a Rose Garden wedding, with receptions to follow in Florida and California.

And Mom and Dad, troupers to their very last breath, have promised not to breathe it until the eve of the Democratic National Convention.

So in the face of that all-out Gore effort, it doesn't seem like too much to ask that the rest of the Administration pitch in and lend a hand.

That's why this Colin-Powell-as-Secretary-of-State business has me so nettled. "What about sweet old George Mitchell?" I asked.

"Too partisan," was the reply.

"Then what about Dick Holbrooke? After all, he's not running for President."

"Don't be too sure. He's set up an exploratory committee and a fund-raising arm called 'America Deserves Dick Holbrooke.' "

"Does he really think he's qualified to be President?" I asked.

"No, but he's willing to stoop a little."

With Colin Powell at State and William Weld as a possible Attorney General, I joked to Bill that he may as well get Christie Whitman in here to replace me.

"Good idea," he said, and reached for the phone.

"Whoa whoa whoa," I said. "What gives? We won! Let's act like winners. Maybe throw our weight around a little. Not return a few phone calls. Forget to invite Dick Gephardt to the White House Christmas Tree Lighting."

"Al," Bill said, "we've been through this. You know what we have to do. Look, if I were you, I wouldn't be so concerned with what goes on around here. Think of it this way: every meal you eat at home is a meal you're not eating with two thousand Buddhist monks."

I thought about this long and hard. In my heart, I knew Bill was right. We do need at least one Republican around. But which one?

That night, as we got ready for bed, I laid out the situation for Tipper. "Tip," I said, "Bill makes a pretty convincing case that if I want to be elected in four years, we've got to show some real accomplishments. And the only way we're going to accomplish anything is if we have a bipartisan Administration. But which Republicans do you think I should accept?"

She fluffed the pillows for a second. "Jack Kemp at HUD and Pat Buchanan at Commerce."

"What?" I shouted. "Both of those guys are planning to run in the primaries! Putting them in a Clinton Cabinet would only elevate them to front-runner status!"

She fluffed some more.

"Plus," I went on, "won't we look ideologically schizophrenic?"

She shot me a raised-eyebrow look. "That ship," she said, "has sailed."

"But—"

"Al, if you could help two Republicans win the nomination in 2000, which would they be?"

I thought for a second. "Oh," I said. "Gotcha."

It was the first good night of sleep I've had since the election.

Gotta go. Tipper and I are pricing minivans today. Soccer moms don't use armor-plated Town Cars!

Your pal, Al

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BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Do-It-Yourself Genesis

JACOB NEUSNER

NEARLY a century and a half after Darwin published *The Origin of Species* and three-quarters of a century after the Scopes trial, who would have predicted that anybody, except for the most hard-bitten of believers, would ever again open the Book of Genesis? Yet today, a TV star in its own right courtesy of Bill Moyers, Genesis is providing the raw material for a whole cottage industry of book-writing, the products ranging from the vulgar and trivial to the inventive and insightful. No fewer than seven books have appeared within a month, and many more are in the pipeline, to sate the public thirst for Scripture's account of the world's beginnings. So, do we now stand at the threshold of a new age of Biblical faith—or is there somewhat less here than meets the eye?

Judaism and Christianity privilege Scripture and mediate it to the ages, and from that point of view I'm afraid we will find little to celebrate here. For the Genesis of Judaism and Christianity —part of God's story of humanity—is not the Genesis that readers will encounter in most of these books. In an act of cultural vandalism, the writers dismiss the entire Judaic and Christian tradition of Genesis and in its place substitute their own sensibility. Their Genesis is the result of subjective, idiosyncratic, acutely personal readings: mine, not ours; my personal opinion, not the tradition of the great faiths.

For the authors before us do not, for the most part, feel themselves bound to read Genesis in the way in which Judaism and Christianity over the centuries have read it. Take the principal voices of Judaism and Christianity on Genesis, the fifth-century contemporaries Genesis Rabbah, for Judaism, and Augustine, for Christianity. Genesis Rabbah asked Genesis to explain the history of holy Israel; Augustine asked it to explain the character of the city of God. Judaism found in its pages the pattern of holy Israel's life, the founders' deeds serving as Israel's model and paradigm. Christianity discovered in it that first Adam whose sin would find atonement in the Second Adam. From the formative age to the present, synagogue and church have approached the Book of Genesis as the foundation stone of their religious systems. The writers before us learn remarkably little from Genesis Rabbah or from Augustine. They prefer to make things up for themselves, this morning.

Frederick H. Carlson

That is why neither church nor synagogue can celebrate Scripture's sudden rise to stardom. But when next year's sensation comes to center stage and Genesis is forgotten by the media, synagogue and church will still be finding nourishment in the pages of the most maligned, but for the moment the most prominent, book of Scripture.

The single most vulgar, exploitative, indeed embarrassing reading of Genesis comes to us from Burton L. Visotzky, whose position as Conservative rabbi and rabbinical seminary professor suggests that he is offering an authentic Judaic interpretation. But in fact his *schtick* is utterly secular: "In the study of the family narratives of Genesis moral education occurs. . . . Genesis is rich in moral dilemmas, the study of which promotes moral development." So too, when we study Genesis, Rabbi Visotzky says, "we realize the nagging voice of moral authority we are hearing is *our own voice*." Why, then, we should listen to Genesis at all, he does not explain. But it is clear he accords the book no privilege, nor does he hear God's voice in it. Rather, he mocks the book and the God who is made manifest in it. Here is a man who in a synagogue lec-

The Genesis of Ethics, by Burton L. Visotzky (Crown, 211 pp., $20)

Genesis: Contemporary Writers on Our First Stories, edited by David Rosenberg (HarperCollins, 213 pp., $20)

In the Beginning: A New Interpretation of Genesis, by Karen Armstrong (Knopf, 195 pp., $20)

Genesis, translated and with commentary by Robert Alter (Norton, 324 pp., $25)

Genesis: A New Translation of the Classic Biblical Stories, translated by Stephen Mitchell (HarperCollins, 161 pp., $20)

The Beginning of Desire: Reflections on Genesis, by Avivah Gottlieb Zornberg (Doubleday, 456 pp., $15.95)

Genesis: A Living Conversation, by Bill Moyers (Doubleday, 361 pp., $29.95)

Mr. Neusner is a professor of religious studies at the University of South Florida and at Bard College.

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ture finds it cute to call God "a mean son of a bitch." Neither Judaism nor Christianity can celebrate that moment.

From exploitation we move to self-celebration: people who use the stories of Genesis as take-off points for advertising their own brilliance. David Rosenberg asked writers—big names like Arthur Miller, ingenues like Allegra Goodman—"to divine" the minds and sensibilities of the Bible's original authors. Each, in Rosenberg's words, is to "use his or her own experience as a narrator to provide a link with the Biblical author . . . these writers read the Bible as authors who are sensitive to the dynamic act of writing." How does this work in practice? Rosenberg did his writers no favor by not editing them. Geoffrey Hartman typifies the lot of them: self-indulgent verbosity, formed into barbaric prose, masks remarkably little fresh thought. Any sentence of his, chosen at random, serves as well as any other to mark the writing as unreadable and hardly worth the trouble anyhow—for instance, "Insofar as the Akedah [story of the binding of Isaac, Genesis 22] generates light rather than darkness, it falls outward onto the graces of a choreographed action that occurs for the first time yet seems already involved in ritual imitation—a sign that there might have been a previous culture, a writing absorbed into this writing." And so forth.

In contrast to Hartman's superheated prose, Karen Armstrong's writing comes as a cool breeze on a hot day. Her book is casual, impressionistic, and chatty, but it is also lightweight—fabricated for the occasion, not the product of deep learning and profound reflection. And she has little to say that has not been said in the standard introductions to Genesis.

What about the new translations of Genesis, Robert Alter's and Stephen Mitchell's? Alter's is scholarly, plodding, sometimes jarring, but mostly dull. It is also mannered and condescending. For instance, Alter begins with this non-sentence, "When God began to create heaven and earth, and the earth then was water and waste and darkness over the deep and God's breath hovering over the waters, God said, 'Let there be light.' And there was light." How are we supposed to parse "and God's breath hovering over the waters"? What are we to make of the disjoined phrases covering water, waste, and darkness? As for the accompanying commentary, it lacks purpose and focus, merely collecting and arranging learning from hither and yon. The whole is casual and surface-smooth—

The writers before us learn remarkably little from Genesis Rabbah and Augustine. They prefer to make things up for themselves, this morning

not brilliant, not vivid, certainly not path-breaking. Alter's commentary will not sustain comparison with, for example, Ephraim Speiser's commentary on Genesis, or those exemplary expositions of the books of Leviticus and Numbers, by Baruch A. Levine. Alter takes his place in the second rank of translators and the third rank of scholars.

By contrast, Mitchell's Genesis is an authentically fresh, surprising, and winning translation. Mitchell leads us into a Genesis that recent scholarship has framed, by distinguishing among the diverse writings that in the view of modern Biblical scholarship have coalesced into Genesis. So he allows each story to unfold in its own terms, rather than, as Alter does, reading them all as if they formed a coherent and uniform sequence. Being a poet (not just a smooth writer), Mitchell avoids jarring the reader while still singing to him: "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth. And the earth was chaos, and there was darkness over the abyss, and the spirit of God hovered upon the waters. And God said, 'Let there be light.' And there was light." The translation throughout shows the hand of a master craftsman, who can make the American language do God's work, as much as Hebrew does.

Best comes next to last: a master exegete, Avivah Zornberg, who lives in Jerusalem and has taught a weekly Torah lection for ten years. "What I did," she writes, "was to share my own personal struggles for meaning, to discover the ways in which life and text inform each other." Not only that, but, learned and literate in Judaism, she also drew upon the received exegetical tradition of the Midrash compilations. Her essays are in what she calls her "teaching mode, exploratory, ironic, open to turbulence, suspicious of fixities." What she does is what rabbis, ministers, and priests do from week to week; it is what studying Torah in the synagogue and proclaiming God's word in church demand. What makes the book special is two virtues: Mrs. Zornberg's unfailing respect for tradition, and her unfailing respect for the text. If Rabbi Visotzky shows what is crude in the contemporary sensibility, Mrs. Zornberg shows how it can embody not only authentic learning but also true intellectual refinement. An ideal way of encountering Genesis would be to join Mr. Mitchell's translation with Mrs. Zornberg's learned, literate, and profound interpretations.

NOW what of Moyers himself? Well, not much. The book that bears his name he did not write. He more or less made it happen, and so he put his name on it. The book contains a merely perfunctory introduction by Moyers, then the transcripts of ten televised sessions. Anyone with the patience to wade through what Carol, Blu, Bill, Burt, Alex, Sam, and whoever else was in the room that day have to say in free-associating conversations with one another—a jumbled mass of this, that, and the other thing—will wonder, at the end, So what? This is not a book to buy and read. It is only a tombstone, marking the place where literate conversation died of lack of energy. As a model for discussions that Mr. Moyers wants to encourage all over the country, it offers an example of how many words people can use to say very little of consequence. That is because they make things up as they go along—and then celebrate the result. But only God can say whether or not what we create is any good. When, in churches and synagogues, people meet the true Genesis, which they can do only through the tradition of Judaism or Christianity, they assemble in humility to encounter not a monument of culture but God's word. That—and nothing else—is what imparts consequence to learning in Scripture. □

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All in the Family

STEVE SAILER

FRANK Sulloway's *Born to Rebel* arrives on a crest of imposing hype, with serious scholars comparing its importance to that of the works of Charles Darwin. For 26 years, this statistically inclined MIT historian labored to uncover why it was Darwin who originated the theory of natural selection. He built a database of 6,566 scientists and other historical figures from the sixteenth through the early twentieth century. Through his study of this database, the answer became obvious to him: Darwin was the fourth child born in his family. To Mr. Sulloway, much of history is literally sibling rivalry writ large, an eternal struggle between conservative, authoritarian, and closed-minded "first-borns" and liberal, rebellious, altruistic, and open-minded "later-borns." (Pop quiz: Name Sulloway's birth rank and politics.)

Born to Rebel: Birth Order, Family Dynamics, and Creative Lives, by Frank J. Sulloway (Pantheon, 653 pp., $30)

Despite the author's tendency to torture his examples to fit his comically obvious prejudice that *first-born = conservative = bad* (one of his illustrations of a first-born with a "conservative ideology" is the Unabomber), there is almost certainly some truth in his general idea. Sulloway's findings agree fairly well with popular stereotypes, the urban folk wisdom of our time. One of his accomplishments is to ground his logic plausibly in neo-Darwinian sociobiology rather than literary movements such as Freudianism: sibling rivalry is genetically motivated competition for scarce parental resources. Older, bigger children defend their privileges, while younger kids try to subvert the status quo. As the twig is bent, so grows the tree. (The "only child," by the way, appears to be too variable to generalize about.)

However, a careful reading shows that Mr. Sulloway does not actually explain the cause of Darwin's creativity. It turns out that later-born scientists are *not* significantly more innovative. (Kepler, Galileo, Newton, and Einstein were all first-borns. Genius remains largely inexplicable.) Instead, later-born scientists are merely more receptive to others' innovative theories, especially before there's much evidence. Once solid data become available, this gap rapidly closes. (First-borns, in turn, seem to deserve some credit for resisting new but bad ideas like phrenology, the once-popular pseudo-science of predicting personality from skull bumps, which later-borns were *nine times* more likely to favor.)

Birth order, it appears, primarily influences opinions, not talents. Keep in mind that those of us who publish our opinions tend to vastly overrate the historical importance of published opinions.

Despite heroic research efforts, a lucid prose style, and an admirable zeal for statistically testing hypotheses, at times Sulloway can sound like Matt Groening's Seventh Type of College Professor: The-Single-Theory-to-Explain-Everything Maniac. ("The nation that controls magnesium controls the universe!") Yet family dynamics are a curiously impotent Single Theory. No nation can use birth order to control the universe because no nation can control birth order. The great engines of history remain cultural differences propagated through families, not differences among individuals spontaneously generated over and over again within families. For example, in one of his few attempts to explain distinctions between countries, Sulloway cites France's low birth rate and consequent high proportion of first-borns to account for why so many French scientists stubbornly resisted Darwin. Yet by this logic, France's surplus of first-borns in the twentieth century should have made French soldiers loyal conformists, while fast-growing Germany should have been saddled with an undisciplined army of "born to rebel" later-borns. The events of May 1940, however, would seem to cast doubt on this reasoning.

When Sulloway leaves the relatively firm ground of scientific history for the swamp of politics, his analysis becomes a bit of a mess, partly because politics itself is messy. Unlike scientific revolutions, most political revolutions—whether the American Revolution, England's Glorious Revolution of 1688, Japan's Meiji Restoration, the Velvet Revolution of 1989, Mussolini's putsch, or Hitler's takeover—contain both radical and conservative elements.

Eventually somebody may make sense of the relations between birth order and politics, but he will need a far more sophisticated understanding of politics than Mr. Sulloway brings to the job. His first weakness is that he assumes that "conservative," "liberal," and "radical" mean roughly the same thing in all places and at all times. For example, his description of Darwin's politics—"Darwin was ahead of his time, and his world view was that of a twentieth-century liberal"—is a much more accurate portrayal of Sulloway's own ideology. True, Darwin *was* a "liberal," but a nineteenth-century free-market liberal, infinitely closer in outlook to Milton Friedman than to Hillary Clinton. Darwin was linked to the rising tide of survival-of-the-fittest capitalism by blood and marriage (both his mother and his wife were Wedgwoods, members of the factory-owning family that developed the first brand name in history); by heavy stock-market investments; and by intellectual heritage (the single most important influence on Darwin was the economist Thomas Malthus, who was in turn a follower of Adam Smith). Darwinism was Whig free-market economics applied to biology.

Sulloway can sound like Matt Groening's Seventh Type of College Professor: The-Single-Theory-to-Explain-Everything Maniac

Further, Sulloway seems not to realize that it is much harder today to define what is the orthodoxy to rebel against than it was in, say, 1517 (the first year in his database), when the Catholic Church unquestionably defined the intellectual establishment. He tends

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to assume that scientific progress remains upsetting to conservatives. Yet beginning in the 1920s, with the discovery that subatomic reality is indeterminate (which flummoxed atheistic determinists), many recent scientific revolutions have proved deeply gratifying to the prejudices of conservatives. For example, the now-validated Big Bang theory was long pooh-poohed by the scientific establishment out of anti-religious bias: the Big Bang is disturbingly close to Genesis ("Let there be light") and to St. Thomas Aquinas's Prime Mover proof for the existence of God.

Most notably, the sociobiologists' ongoing "rediscovery of human nature" confirms conservative distrust of the liberal dogma that all differences between human beings are the product of social injustice. Today, the Pope appears more enthusiastic about Darwinism than the self-proclaimed "cultural radicals" who control the granting of tenure in university humanities departments.

Paradoxically, by offering even more evidence that human nature is fixed and that the power of state-mandated social reform to advance harmony and happiness is highly limited, Mr. Sulloway ends up offering additional reassurance to conservatives in their rebellion against liberal orthodoxy. □

Where the Elite Meet

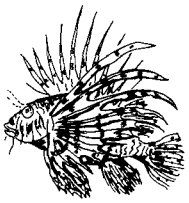
DAVID FRUM

THERE are things that everybody knows. We all know that the earth is the third planet from the sun. We all know that cigarettes cause cancer. And we all know that the press is liberal.

If we weren't so forgetful and ungrateful, we'd keep in mind the disturbing truth that these things that everybody knows weren't always known. Somebody figured them out for the very first time—often in defiance of powerful organized interests with an important stake in the contrary belief.

American Elites, by Robert Lerner, Althea K. Nagai, and Stanley Rothman (Yale, 188 pp., $26)

We owe much of our knowledge of the political inclinations of journalists to a remarkable sociologist, Stanley Rothman. Over the past two decades, he has conducted a series of studies of the ideologies prevalent among American elites. Now, with the aid of Robert Lerner and Althea Nagai, Rothman has pulled all that work together into a comprehensive portrait of the people who rule the country.



Rothman's method was to choose a representative sample from an elite occupation and then ask them to participate in a test. For the 1982 study of the television elite, for example, he drew up a list of 350 writers, producers, and executives who had been associated with the development of two or more successful prime-time series. In the end, 104 of them chose to participate. Similar methods were employed in a 1982 study of high-ranking federal bureaucrats, a 1979 study of Fortune 500 business executives, a 1982 study of congressional aides, a 1982 study of federal judges, a 1984 and 1985 study of labor leaders, a 1979 study of the media elite, and so on. The same questions, at greater or less length, were posed to all the sample groups.

For the most part, Rothman and his collaborators (notably Robert and Linda Lichter, his colleagues on the media-elite study) found just what you would expect them to find. Business executives, military leaders, and clergymen are more conservative than public-interest lawyers, television producers, and federal judges. That may sound axiomatic; but there's all the difference in the world between *suspecting* that something is true, and *knowing* it.

What Rothman and his current collaborators are at pains to argue in this new book, though, is that liberalism and conservatism are not sufficiently capacious categories. Thus, even back in the early 1980s, television producers, movie-makers, and elite journalists showed much more confidence in free-market economics than did labor leaders; 63 per cent of elite journalists, 50 per cent of movie-makers, and 65 per cent of television producers and writers agreed that less government regulation of business is good, as opposed to only 35 per cent of labor leaders and 18 per cent of the leaders of public-interest organizations. On the other hand, labor leaders were among the most hawkish of the elites toward the Soviet Union. A majority of them also agreed that it was sometimes necessary for the CIA to overthrow hostile foreign regimes.

As Rothman describes them, American elites are strikingly divided on most issues. But not on all: more than 70 per cent of the members of every elite except the clergy support the right to an abortion. Among the more liberal elites —lawyers, journalists, movie-makers, and television producers and writers— support for abortion rights exceeds 90 per cent. More tellingly, adultery is the *only* form of sexual behavior that a large majority of members of American elites thinks wrong. It reveals something about the legalism of the American mind that the only ethical rule America's leaders still apply to human sexuality is that of promise-keeping.

The only ethical rule America's leaders still apply to sexuality is that of promise-keeping

The most interesting section of the book is the one that ventures onto the riskiest ground: explaining *why* American elites think as they do. In order to accomplish this, the authors compare business elites to the three groups (those working in film, television, and journalism) that might be termed "cultural elites." Their findings are bound to raise eyebrows.

Since 1982, Rothman and Robert Lichter have used a test called the Thematic Appreciation Test to inquire into the personalities of their subjects. In the TAT, as they chummily call it, the participants in the study are shown five photographs of ambiguous social situations and asked to write a little story explaining what they see. Those stories are

Mr. Frum, a Senior Fellow at the Manhattan Institute, is the author most recently of What's Right *(Basic).*

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then evaluated in order to draw conclusions about the test-takers' need for power, their need for achievement, their need for intimacy, their moral inhibitions, their tendency toward authoritarianism, and their narcissism.

As readers of *NR* might suspect, it turns out that members of the cultural elite are more likely to be narcissistic, power-seeking, authoritarian, and uninhibited by moral considerations than businessmen are. Indeed, the authors contend that while only 18 per cent of business leaders can be described as "authoritarian," 32 per cent of members of the cultural elite earn that unpleasant label. The grim final verdict: "Given the influence of the cultural elites on the culture at large . . . we may be moving toward a world increasingly characterized by narcissistic demands, lack of impulse control, and the kind of self-centered suspiciousness that inhibits effective cooperation for common purposes."

Two caveats about this otherwise fascinating book must be stressed. Stanley Rothman is a noble exception to the tradition that sociologists must be socialists. He is not, alas, an exception to the rule that they must write murky prose. This is not a book to be read for amusement. Second, and more important: most of the studies relied on in *American Elites* were conducted around 15 years ago. America is in many ways a more conservative place than it was then, and while there isn't a whole lot of evidence that the television and film industries have changed their stripes, it's my sense that the journalistic profession has.

At the same time, I'd bet that the business leaders of the mid Nineties are likely to prove on many issues less conservative than the business leaders of the late Seventies and early Eighties. In any case, these tests ought to be re-administered before too many claims about America in the 1990s are made on the strength of them.

Even so, this is an invaluable book that elegantly sums up an indispensable scholarly career. It is also an elegantly straightforward book. All its statistical apparatus and its masses of evidence, forbidding as they appear, have been assembled to pound a simple point into the reader's skull: the world is hurtling to Hell in a handcart, and it's the people who make our movies and television shows who have given it the most powerful push toward perdition. □

FILM

Appetizing and Otherwise

JOHN SIMON

THE joint writing effort of Stanley Tucci and his cousin Joseph Tropiano, and the joint directorial debut of Tucci and Campbell Scott, yield ***Big Night***, a hugely likable little movie about two Italian brothers trying to make it in the restaurant business in America. Secondo, the younger brother, who is the front man at the Paradise (somewhere in New York or New Jersey, sometime in the Forties or Fifties), has been here longer; Primo, the older brother and chef, is a more recent arrival. But for all Secondo's charm and Primo's great cooking, it may soon be Paradise lost.

Why? Perhaps because the cuisine is too authentic. Or because the brothers lack sufficient funds. Or because nearby there is Pascal's unimaginative but glitzy restaurant, with all the most obvious dishes, a lounge singer, and staff galore. At the Paradise, there is, besides the brothers, only young Cristiano, kitchen boy, waiter, factotum. Secondo is quite an entrepreneur, and Primo is an artist, but for their thinning pocketbook it is all cuisine minceur.

Pascal has been trying to entice Primo, but the brothers want their own place. Now the bank threatens to foreclose (a sad or funny scene—in this film it is hard to tell those opposites apart), and Pascal offers his competitors a last chance: he will get his friend, the bandleader Louis Prima, to come with his band to the Paradise for dinner, and so put it on the map. The brothers gamble

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

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everything on this opportunity. Secondo, who has a nice girlfriend, Phyllis, a bank clerk, nevertheless goes to bed with Gabriella, Pascal's mistress, to extort the cut-rate liquor she can provide. Primo, who has a budding relationship with Ann, a florist, gets her to supply flowers.

Secondo, who lusts for a finned Cadillac, invites Bob, a brash young Caddie salesman, to the big night. The boys' avuncular barber is also invited, as are Pascal and Gabriella, and, of course, Phyllis, who helps out in the kitchen. Several seats at the head of the enormous table are reserved for the Prima band. Fabulous dishes, including the elaborate *timpano* (a multi-layered, drum-shaped meat-egg-and-vegetable pie), are prepared with quasi-religious zeal, and there is music and dancing as people get ready for dinner.

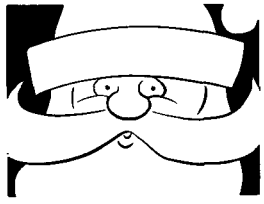
There have been problems all along. Phyllis wants Secondo to marry her, but he keeps stalling. From a phone call to Italy, it emerges that an uncle is trying to lure the brothers back to work for him in Rome. They themselves have internecine arguments about the menu. Can they continue to serve their opulent risotto, whose declared ingredients the customers cannot find on their plates? Must they continue free meals for the painter whose dubious art work already overflows their walls? But it is at the putative Big Night that everything falls apart.

Nicely observed details abound. Early on, Secondo steps out of the Paradise and fussily adjusts the two potted plants at the entrance without achieving the slightest improvement. In picking flowers for the big event, Primo walks into the refrigerated display case, risking a chill out of sheer dedication. When the *timpano* comes out of the oven, the brothers hover over it, caress it, kiss it, as homage supersedes hygiene. The brothers' women tower over their swains: Ann over Primo, Phyllis over Secondo; symbolically, little Italy confronts giant America.

Big Night aptly conveys the awkwardness of conversation: its stammerings, gropings, abrupt lapses into silence. Those stagnations and uneasy stillnesses fill up with repressed emotions, and also with evasions and prevarications that are both ludicrous and poignant. Even when the film runs out of steam, it maintains density of feeling: where it fails as art, it remains recognizable as life. And when it is derivative—as in the ridiculous nocturnal fight on the beach, which is pure Fellini—it borrows from the best sources, effectively.

The performances are uniformly persuasive. Stanley Tucci, as Secondo, makes the slippery operator both irritatingly opportunistic and pathetically bumbling. It is a finely drawn and subtly shaded, masterly piece of acting. Tony Shalhoub, though far from Italian in real life, emerges equally Italianate—even in the dialogue, which often lapses into Italian with English subtitles. His work is particularly fetching when he radiates delicate feelings such as quiet satisfaction or wounded pride. As the lying, rascally Pascal, Ian Holm has occasional slips in accent, but magisterially realizes the character's shiftiness. He triumphs with Pascal's parting shot, which forces us to reassess our complacent moral certitudes. The women—Minnie Driver, Isabella Rossellini, and Allison Janney—are splendidly cast, and endow their somewhat subordinate roles with full-bodied presence.

A movie in which a widower has sexy love scenes with his late wife is insupportable, even if she is played by Michelle Pfeiffer



Extraordinary heights are reached in the final scene. It is a shared breakfast in the kitchen: a touching reconciliation, but at best a touch-and-go resolution. The future is left bittersweetly pending. The scene's great strength is in its total wordlessness: nothing is spoken, but a great deal gets across. Here as elsewhere, Ken Kelsch's cinematography, Andrew Jackness's production design, and Gary DeMichele's score make their understated but not-to-be-underestimated contributions.

■ Annoying as it was as a play (by Michael Brady), ***To Gillian on Her 37th Birthday*** is even more so as a movie, adapted by the television writer David E. Kelley. This is the story of David Lewis, who loses his adored wife, Gillian, in a boating accident off Nantucket on her 35th birthday. Mad with grief, he lives with his teenage daughter, Rachel, in his beach house, and refuses to resume his teaching job in Boston. Rachel feels, and is, neglected enough for Esther, Gillian's sister, to threaten legal action to adopt her, even though Esther's husband, Paul, is against such extreme measures. But David lives only for his dead wife, who keeps appearing to him for lengthy, loving talks on the nocturnal beach and elsewhere, and even for some chaste lovemaking, a sort of platonic necrophilia.

A movie in which an eligible divorcee is named Kevin is bad enough, but one where a widower has sexy love scenes with his late wife is insupportable, even if she is played by a Michelle Pfeiffer as delightful as ever. The mixture of the stickily sentimental, the swooningly rancid, and the just plain nauseating is unbeatably unbearable. I have no problem with a bereaved man's never remarrying, only with endless tête-à-têtes in which the deceased converses and flirts exactly as if still alive. A man could do two things: recall actual conversations with his Gillian and fantasize what they might do together if she were still around. For him to see and hear things in such cloyingly fulsome detail requires either the services of a trashy screenwriter or a totally deranged mind. Either the writer should be more committed, or the protagonist should be committed.

David is played by Peter Gallagher, who has the bushiest eyebrows and most bloated lips of any leading man, living or dead. Add to this a Beatle haircut, and you have a cross between a melting faun and an anthropomorphic sheepdog. As Rachel, Claire Danes, Hollywood's currently favorite portrayer of teenagers, is adequate but, as usual, unprepossessing. It is a measure of the film's ineptitude that Kathy Baker, one of our finest actresses, can't do anything much for Esther. Wendy Crawson is as good as one can be playing a woman called Kevin; Bruce Altman may be too crude as Paul, but it hardly matters. The central scenes, under Michael Pressman's gooey direction, are unsurpassably sticky. Perhaps one could put the extant prints of the film to better use by cutting them up and marketing them as flypaper. □

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ART

Democratic Realism on the Mall

MARK MILLER

OF all the faults that have been found in Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial on the Mall in Washington, the greatest has been overlooked. From the start, in 1982, conservatives and war veterans chastised Miss Lin for left-wing anti-Americanism. However just that charge may be, the real sin of her memorial is not that it seems so glaringly critical of the Vietnam War, nor that it appears to consign the lives of so many Americans to a black ditch, but that it provoked a trend that is in the process of ruining one of our truly great and inspiring national sites.

Miss Lin's odd, unintended revenge on her critics may take another step this month when a design is unveiled for the National World War II Memorial. Her co-conspirators, as unwitting as she is, are veterans and conservatives.

Miss Lin's design, these critics said at first, was a symbolic denigration of the war, a denigration that showed no respect for the sacrifices of those who gave their lives in pursuit of the national interest. Tempers eventually subsided, and the Vietnam Memorial has become one of the most visited sites on the Mall. When the weather is pleasant, you can find a crowd filing through even past midnight.

Before the resentment died down, though, veterans groups demanded satisfaction. Their protests resulted in the commissioning in 1984 of Frederick Hart's representational sculpture group, *Three Soldiers*, which stands near Miss Lin's memorial. With its high degree of realism, it is about as different from hers as it could be: three combat-seasoned soldiers (of the proper mix of races, of course), battle-wearied but alert, standing tall, with suffering and sacrifice written all over their faces. This sop to the vets set in motion an unfortunate trend toward a kind of vivid realism in war memorials—call it democratic realism. Representation is now the safe option, especially when artistic committees are confronted with the demands of men whose combat experience gives them formidable moral stature.

The next war memorial, the Vietnam Women's Memorial, appeared in 1993, celebrating the sacrifices of military nurses—again with the proper racial mix, again with the overplayed emotion (one nurse cradles a wounded soldier in her arms in a pose that has been compared to Michelangelo's *Pietà*). And most recently, there is the Korean War Memorial, dedicated in July 1995. It features a group of 19 realistically portrayed soldiers—this time not only with the proper racial mix, but also with a mix of service branches—marching wearily on patrol.

It appears likely that we are about to end up with another war memorial on the Mall peopled with replica soldiers. Haydn Williams, a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission and chairman of the World War II Memorial Site and Design Committee, says, "It's up to the designers." But a number of the finalists chosen by the ABMC in August have used representational sculpture before in their designs, and others admitted to a strong interest in it. One designer, skirting the strict ABMC rule that the design proposals not be discussed until one has been chosen, even confessed that the World War II Memorial probably calls for it.

Tom Wolfe and other conservatives have written passionately in support of Frederick Hart–style representation. They see it as the antidote to the artistic modernism that produced Maya Lin's memorial. The sum and substance of this modernism, they argue, is the desire to overturn bourgeois taste; at its core it is devoid of humanity. If by this Wolfe and Company intend to make the

Mr. Miller is assistant book editor of the Washington Times *and senior articles editor of the* Georgetown Law Journal.

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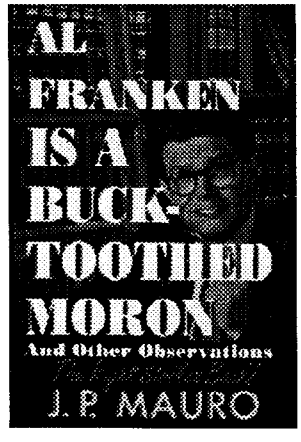

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conservative or the populist case for realism, they should think about it again. This kind of realism in war memorials promotes values we should not want to promote.

Why? Take the Iwo Jima Memorial, the prototype for all the realism that has since come to the Mall. It turns out that the Iwo Jima flag-raising, one of the greatest, most patriotic images of the War in the Pacific, was staged for the camera. The hill had already been secured, the flag already raised. The memorial in Arlington is thus two steps removed from the real war, a re-creation of a re-creation, allowing a moment of imitation glory to symbolize the War in the Pacific.

The newer memorials on the Mall share something of the photographic quality of the Iwo Jima Memorial. The soldiers of the Korean War Memorial slog along, astonishingly lifelike. In the fogs that periodically blanket the Mall, the effect can be haunting. But out of the fog, one almost expects to see William Holden there leading the troops. Or Sylvester Stallone. Indeed, democratic realism seems to take its influences less from traditional patriotic values than from the entertainment values of the movies.

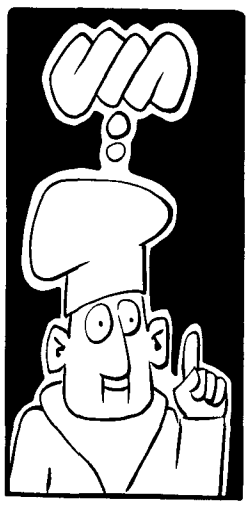
Just as movies are different from still photography, however, so are the newer memorials different from the Iwo Jima Memorial. The original Iwo Jima photograph, staged though it was, still honors the collective enterprise of the war and suggests that a greater objective lies behind its horror and tragedy. The flag-raising gains its symbolic power from showing the triumph of American virtues, hinting at the purpose behind the soldiers' sacrifices.

The newer democratic-realist sculptures suggest no such larger purpose. The close-up detail with which they are rendered focuses more on the heroics of the individual than on the collective effort of war—just as present-day movies do, with their plots driven by the box-office power of a single star. The bedraggled look of the soldiers is a design characteristic that comes not out of some Army manual, which would impose a measure of discipline even in a combat environment, but straight out of cinematically created expectations of what soldiers in war *should* look like.

What these similarities suggest is that current movies and the newest war memorials have something deeper in common: a programmed-in response. Through carefully calculated and market-tested methods, Hollywood calibrates every scene to produce a particular response in the viewer. Every audience reaction—every tear, every rush of adrenaline—is programmed in. Nothing (except possibly the humor) is left to chance. The result is a packaged experience, the only variations being due to differences in viewers' taste and intelligence.

War memorials were once places of remembrance, places of gravity and contemplation. Perhaps we have lost the capacity to respond from within

The realism of the new war memorials produces a packaged experience too: the seasoned looks, the noble postures are intended to elicit a quick rush of patriotism. But the effect is more *Patriot Games* than *Federalist Papers*, and it remains about as long in the mind, for the cinematic technique eliminates the need for creativity and imagination on the part of the viewer. Like socialist realism, democratic realism packages the narrative of history in its own way, leaving little room for independent thought. Is there anything democratic or patriotic about that?



It is therefore surprising to hear conservatives taking positions in favor of this sort of realistic sculpture as an expression of "bourgeois taste." After all, it is we who, rightly, have been arguing the necessity of preserving hierarchies of artistic merit, a view that sits uneasily beside the idea that bourgeois aesthetic standards deserve to be defended for the mere reason that they are bourgeois. And, all politics aside, the artistic merit of Frederick Hart's war memorial—*pace* Tom Wolfe—is of a distinctly lower level than that of his sublime work for the National Cathedral. (If it's any indication, a scaled-down replica has been made available from the Franklin Mint.)

Finally, with democratic realism's constant focus on the individual, we see the final triumph of the anti-war sentiment imputed to Maya Lin. Just as Miss Lin was said to have criticized the war in Vietnam through her abstraction, the democratic-realist fixation on the individual seems to say that war has no larger significance than the immediate suffering of the soldiers. The sculptures hint at no great aims, no collective purposes that might redeem the lives sacrificed; they can find nothing better in war, no more redeeming purpose, than the self-expression of its participants.

War memorials were once places of remembrance, places of gravity and contemplation. In many of them, the viewer was confronted with simple images and symbols—an obelisk, a single rider on horseback—that were meant to evoke a range of responses, but meaningful responses that came from within the viewer. The experience, admittedly, is demanding, and many viewers are not up to the task. For them, symbolic memorials will mean little. But those who do respond are rewarded with a powerful and genuine experience—and all of us are edified, in the end, by at least attempting to go through the exercise.

Perhaps we have lost that capacity to respond from within. Maybe in an age that esteems entertainment above almost all else, we need to be told how to respond to works of art. At any rate, the World War II Memorial Site and Design Committee will very soon decide whether our national war memorials are to continue in the mode they have followed for the last decade. Are they to be therapy for the living, or are they to be lasting commemorations of the dead? Are we to crowd the west end of the Mall with soldiers? If so, then how many is enough? If the memorials are to be realistic, where will the realism end?

I have never been to war, and thanks to the sacrifices of America's veterans I probably will never have to. That is all the more reason why their memory deserves better than what Hollywood can give it. □

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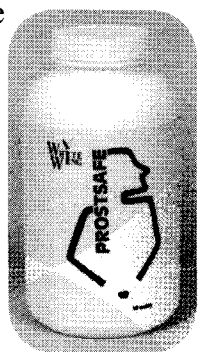

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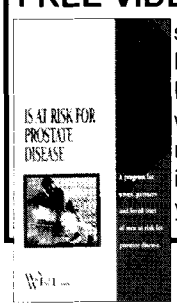

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DELECTATIONS

The Joy of Larders

DIGBY ANDERSON

LIKE all mortals, conservative cooks get miserable from time to time. But we have our own special cure for the blues. All we need is a chair and a larder. Better still a pantry.

In English-English, a larder is a cupboard that is cool, dry, dark, and sealed against mice and flies. Traditionally it was on the north wall of the kitchen; it might have a small exterior window with a mesh grill. A pantry is a walk-in larder, a little storeroom that meets the same conditions.

A refrigerator cannot replace a larder. The essential difference is that fridges keep fresh foods fresh; larders keep preserved foods in a good state of conservation. And preserved does not mean inferior. Traditional techniques of preserving actually add to the original taste. Parma ham or, better still, blackfoot Iberian ham tastes far better than fresh leg of pork. Peppers packed in wine vinegar, or smoked herrings, taste better than the originals.

Some larder contents can be kept for months or years, and so conservative cooks hunt down good things that are cured, dried, smoked, or pickled, or buy good things and cure, dry, smoke, or pickle them themselves, and create an Aladdin's cave of good things to eat. A mark of a good cook is to be able to accommodate unexpected guests, and it is the well-stocked larder that makes this possible.

But it has another use. When you are glum, when you are despairing of the ghastly decadent culture our once great civilization is sinking into, just take a chair, open the door of the larder, switch on the light, sit down, and contemplate your treasures. Straight ahead on the main shelf is a tin of hummus. Long time since we had some; would need extra sesame paste (next shelf up) and olive oil (three gallon cans of it below, Greek, Spanish, and Italian).

Wait—on top of the hummus are a couple of tins of caviar, booty from a recent trip to Eastern Europe. The foie gras came from the same place. We must find an occasion when there are just the two of us and eat both with a bottle of '90 Pommery. On the left is a bottle of hazelnuts from the tree in the garden. That reminds me—there are some more blown down by the wind. Better get them before the squirrel does. Those jars of *mole* really ought to be used. Who's coming next weekend? Let's give them Mexican food. There are tall jars at the back there with dried chilis. George, the farmer opposite, has some cockerels waiting to be killed and plucked—cockerel *mole*—and there's plenty of Mexican dried beef.

When you are glum, just open the door of the larder and contemplate your treasures

Hold on. What's that poking out beyond the vermicelli? Dried mushrooms, morels. Oooh! Pasta with dried mushrooms. Or would it be better with some of that squid in its own ink? There are three jars of that. The anchovies should be ready soon. They were bought fresh in Spain in June, salted there (in the hotel bathroom), brought back home, and packed in olive oil with chili flakes. If one were of an arty disposition, one could go on about the colors: the silver fish, the layers of scarlet flakes, and the deep green-yellow oil. But I prefer to think of them with fresh-baked griddle bread and a bowl of the Turkish olives also in oil which were brought back from the market in Antalya.

On the next shelf are rows and rows of bottles with pickled limes inside, ten pounds of limes, rashly sold off by some trader who saw them hardening and let them go at a rock-bottom price—and even more rashly bought. I suppose we'll get through them. The top shelf has basmati rice, risotto rice, Spanish rice, and Thai rice, Chinese noodles, and jars of chick-peas, lentils, and beans. On the floor are sacks of flour for bread, and hanging from the shelf above them a smoked tongue from Budapest and a huge intestine stuffed with cured pork tripes.

And that is only a first glance. If I stand up I can see even more. So many good things and so few meals to eat them in. Better not to stand up. Better to kneel and thank the Almighty for so many good things, so much pleasure. Glum, were you? Ingrate. □

Mr. Anderson is the editor of Gentility Recalled, *just released by the Acton Institute.*

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WHEN Ronald Reagan was elected President, racial discrimination had once again become the law of the land. The guiding principle in the 1954 *Brown* v. *Board* decision was that assignment of students to public schools must not take race into account; in 1971 the Supreme Court ruled, in the busing cases, that assignments *must* be based upon race. The 1964 Civil Rights Act forbade racial discrimination in employment; in 1980 bureaucrats and judges mandated racial quotas. Similarly, the 1965 Voting Rights Act degenerated into a policy of gerrymandering to ensure the election of blacks. Reagan thought that drift immoral and unconstitutional, and he pledged to work toward achieving a color-blind America. The effort was largely entrusted to William Bradford Reynolds, head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Though Reynolds was far more active in protecting minority rights than his predecessors, he succeeded to a considerable extent in undoing the mischief wrought by the civil-rights establishment. Raymond Wolters tells this story persuasively and in meticulous and fascinating detail. —FORREST MCDONALD

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SINGER

(Continued from page 63)

Democratic pollster Peter Hart says, the Medicare issue had faded. Now Republican leaders are shrewdly insisting that Bill Clinton take the lead on Medicare reform. In order to move toward a balanced budget credibly enough to suit the bond market, he will probably have to propose "Medicare cuts" deeper than the Republicans'. In the process he will deprive Democrats of even residual use of an issue which has helped them for many years.

But this is not the first harm Clinton has done to his party. Writing even before the election, John Heileman in the November *Wired* declared that Clinton "has, in effect, administered the final, mortal blow to the world's oldest political party." Since election day 1992 Democrats have lost 12 Senate seats, about 60 House seats, 11 governorships, and about 500 state legislative seats. Clinton has assiduously courted Democratic fundraising constituencies: public-employee unions, trial lawyers, Manhattan and Hollywood liberals, foreign businessmen—perhaps too assiduously, since all are highly unpopular with the voters. But he has done little to help the small number of New Democratic office-holders and office-seekers out there in America, and, if scandals take their course, he will have done much to hurt them. No Democratic President has seen such harm come to his party since Grover Cleveland in his second term 100 years ago—and that was followed by 34 years of Republican dominance.

Of course none of this means that Republicans and conservatives will do things right. But this is no longer 1955, when Bill Buckley founded NATIONAL REVIEW to slow what seemed an inevitable leftward tide in history. Today the tide is moving the other way. Here and around the world the Right wins most elections and the Left wins only when it moves convincingly rightward.

A visitor from Mars would have imagined this fall that congressional Republicans faced disaster at the polls. They had been pummeled for nearly a year by Democrats' "Medicare cuts" ads, were the target of the AFL–CIO's $35-million ad drive, were attacked harshly by biased media; their most visible leaders were a presidential nominee at best lukewarmly regarded and a House Speaker who had become the most unpopular politician in America. They could say, as Silvio Berlusconi said earlier this year in Italy, "*Avevamo tutti contro noi*": we have had everyone against us. Yet in the face of all that they won. After election night 1994 there were 52 Republican senators; after election night 1996, 55. After election night 1994 there were 230 House Republicans; after election night 1996, depending on recounts, somewhere between 228 and 231.

Sure, there are problems, and things Republicans could have done better. They didn't elect a President, and they ran poorly among under-30s and Hispanics, in metropolitan New York and New England, on the West Coast. They lost control of some important state legislatures. They have, as Kate O'Beirne pointed out, no persuasive response to Bill Clinton's plans for "lots of little government" (why oppose family leave for veterinary visits?). They have no dazzlingly articulate national leaders, as they once had in Ronald Reagan and as liberals once had in Franklin Roosevelt. There's plenty of room for recriminations. But conservatives have cause to take some satisfaction too. □

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Siegfried R. Reiner

1 G	2 M	3 c	4 P	■	5 K	6 B	■	7 M	8 L	9 I	10 T	11 Q	12 R	13 U	14 P	■	15 G	16 W	17 H	18 U	19 X	20 M
■	21 a	22 T	23 U	24 Z	■	25 A	26 a	27 Z	28 D	29 E	■	30 b	31 T	32 C	■	33 O	34 a	35 B	36 d	■	37 J	38 A
■	39 V	40 A	41 I	42 N	43 O	44 X	45 a	■	46 C	47 Y	48 R	49 W	■	50 G	51 B	52 T	■	53 X	54 D	■	55 O	56 A
57 C	58 L	59 Y	60 I	■	61 T	62 V	63 Z	64 S	65 U	66 E	67 G	68 A	■	69 X	70 J	■	71 N	72 W	73 V	■	74 L	75 W
76 J	■	77 Q	78 U	79 P	80 N	81 R	82 L	■	83 Y	84 C	85 E	86 X	87 Z	88 Q	■	89 H	90 R	91 P	92 L	93 Q	■	94 X
95 D	96 G	■	97 d	98 T	99 W	■	100 a	101 N	102 U	103 I	104 b	■	105 R	106W	107 V	108 J	■	109 U	110 D	111 c	112W	113 C
114 B	115 b	■	116 A	117 H	118 W	■	119 F	120 J	121 V	■	122 I	123 O	124 P	125 b	126 N	■	127M	128 A	■	129 A	130 D	■
131 Z	132 S	133 X	134 a	135 I	136W	137 C	138 F	■	139 a	140 T	141 X	142 D	■	143 Y	144 I	■	145 S	146 G	147 P	148 C	■	149 Q
150 P	151 U	■	152W	153 H	154 F	155 U	156 A	157 L	■	158 G	159 F	160 K	161 T	■	162 N	163 K	164 U	165 T	166 A	■	167 c	168 O
169W	■	170 C	171 R	172 P	173 J	■	174 b	175 I	■	176 N	177 P	178 R	179W	180 d	181 K	182 D	■	183 c	184 Y	185 I	186 P	■

DEFINITIONS

A. Within one's means — 56 116 38 128 25 68 40 129 156 166

B. Give out for a time — 51 6 35 114

C. Obsessions — 57 32 84 113 170 46 137 148

D. He avenged Agamemnon's death — 95 110 130 54 182 142 28

E. Type of deer — 66 85 29

F. Dark judgment — 138 159 119 154

G. Pilgrim landfall (2 words) — 1 50 15 67 158 146 96

H. Reedy woodwind — 17 89 117 153

I. *Speedwell*'s more seaworthy companion — 185 9 60 175 135 144 122 103 41

J. Sufficient — 76 70 37 120 173 108

K. Some love them baked with marshmallows — 5 163 160 181

L. One or the other — 58 92 74 8 157 82

M. Carry — 7 2 127 20

N. Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness — 176 101 162 42 71 126 80

O. Fire's remains — 123 55 168 43 33

P. U.S. region that gave birth to Thanksgiving (2 words) — 172 186 150 4 79 91 14 177 124 147

Q. Is cognizant of — 11 93 149 77 88

R. What the New World offered to Definition X and their successors — 12 178 81 90 105 171 48

S. Brave's utterance — 132 145 64

T. Algonquin dwelling — 52 140 10 61 31 22 98 165 161

U. Favorite Thanksgiving dessert (2 words) — 155 13 23 109 102 78 151 18 164 65

V. Third rock from the sun — 73 62 121 107 39

W. Half-way to Grandmother's house (3 words) — 106 112 49 118 152 75 169 72 136 179 16 99

X. Standish, Bradford, et al. — 133 53 19 94 86 69 141 44

Y. Plunders — 59 184 47 143 83

Z. Gives forth — 24 87 27 63 131

a. Instrument of governance drawn up aboard Definition I — 21 34 100 134 26 139 45

b. Playful aquatic mammal — 174 30 125 115 104

c. Light-bulb flutterer — 3 111 167 183

d. Pridefulness — 180 36 97

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to last issue's Trans-O-Gram. LEARNED HAND: *Spirit of Liberty*: "Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women. When it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it. No constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. While it lies there, it needs no constitution, no law, no court to save it."

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ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

On Needed Extremism

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 8

A very bright professor, on Wednesday, trying to give cheer to his despondent companion, summed it up in this way: "Look. The guy who was elected President is a Republican Democrat. He got 49 per cent of the vote. He was running against a Republican Republican, who won 41 per cent of the vote. The third candidate was a conservative with 8 per cent. The House stayed Republican by about 19 seats, with 80 per cent of the 1994 freshman Republicans winning re-election. The Senate stayed Republican by 10 seats, and the majority of governors are Republican. So what's the gloom all about?"

Nicely done, if conservative uplift is the order of the day. But the air seemed saturated, on D-Day + 1, with strains of the old melody: The middle road. One commentator said it bluntly: The Lord has spoken, and what we have seen is a repudiation of extremists, of both the Left and the Right. The way of the future is down the middle of the road.

The Lord wasn't all that plainspoken, some of us conclude. Bob Dornan of California—"B-1 Bob," as his dazzled critics think of him—is hanging in there, with a tiny lead. Strom Thurmond, at the end of his freshly renewed term, will be one hundred years old. And Jesse Helms had his customary victory. On the far Left, Mr. Bonior of Michigan squeaked through, as did several members of the Establishment Left like Charles Rangel, who was quoted as saying he intended to be buried in Chicago, so that he could continue an active political career posthumously.

We are left, of course, with the question: How do you define an extremist? The thesaurus gives *fanatic* as a synonym, and the *American Heritage Dictionary* contributes a Usage Note: "synonyms: *fanatic*, *zealot*, *enthusiast*. These nouns denote persons who are ardently and usually excessively devoted to a particular cause, subject, or activity. *Fanatic* implies the pursuit of a given interest to inordinate and even irrational lengths, often to the exclusion of all other interests: *'A fanatic is one who can't change his mind and won't change the subject'* (Winston S. Churchill). A *zealot* is immoderately devoted to a cause or goal and seeks to advance it with passionate fervor: *'those furious zealots who blow the bellows of faction until the whole furnace of politics is red-hot'* (Washington Irving). *Enthusiast* can denote a religious zealot holding visionary opinions. More commonly, however, it merely implies strong interest in something such as a hobby, and lacks the unfavorable connotations of the other terms: *a hockey enthusiast*."

We see, then, that the term *extremist* can readily be used to stigmatize a position different from one's own. The professional politicians still reel from the pronouncement by Barry Goldwater in 1964 that moderation in pursuit of justice is no virtue, extremism in defense of liberty is no vice. You get an absolute and plausible consensus on extremism only when it is used to designate riflemen who wander about (in isolated numbers) mumbling about the need to take the law into their own hands. Extremism can be used, and has been, to denounce people who kill without judicial authority, as also those who execute in state prisons. There is a difference, and that difference teaches us to use words with caution. And the beginning of wisdom here is to decline to retreat from a desired political objective simply because it is anathematized as extremist by True Believers, or opportunists.

The most prominent of the issues in question is of course abortion. Although the great majority coast in and out of the polling booth unaffected by the issue, abortion is as divisive as any question in the public square. What surely is needed is the rejection of the finding in *Roe* v. *Wade*, to the effect that the right to abort is fundamental and constitutionally given. This space is not given over to the one-millionth consideration of the opinion of the majority, rather to a legitimate objective of the GOP, which should not be denounced as extremist. It is to return the authority to govern abortions to the states. We already know (Connecticut is an example) that there are states anxious to write into their laws guarantees of abortion rights. The quarrels then would be inside marginal states, easing away the question as a national issue.

The GOP leadership should frame a new and non-extremist position: We abandon the goal of constitutional reform, you abandon opposition to ditching *Roe* v. *Wade*. □

"You look a little scrawny today. Hey! You're not missing another rib, are you?"

Never Mind The Election

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 5

Noon Tuesday. The only way to focus on the job at hand today is to *wipe from memory* any thought of what is going on in the political world, to which disengagement I hereby pledge myself. . . .

I am teaching a little seminar these days, exploring a pedagogical technique. The students write short essays on stipulated topics ("You are hidden and view the Ku Kluxers robing"; "Julio, in his cell two hours before his execution, practices being brave"). Their essays are flashed up on the left half of the screen. The teacher, typing on his computer, edits alongside, on the right half of the screen.

(What does Clinton think he is, a Social Benefits dowser? He comes up with—paid time off to visit the veterinarian. Wooing the dog vote!)

An effort was made the other day to respond to one problem. You receive a letter from a friend, asking you to write to a co-op board of directors to endorse friend's application to buy an apartment in their building. You face the same problem you've run into four or five times every year since the feminist geological age set in: how to address your letter.

In days gone by it was simply, Dear Sirs. This was okay for a very long time even if women were on the board. They accepted Sirs as other than gender-specific, forswore *Angst*, and devoted their entire attention to such questions as, Are Mr. and Mrs. Elmtree desirable tenants?

(Watch Indiana. If it goes decisively for him, then things are not . . . very . . . good. On the governor's race it doesn't much matter for Indianans whether it's Gold-

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smith or O'Bannon, they're both OK. But Goldsmith is GOP and if he goes down that's like Mission Control losing a spark plug on launch day, if you see what I mean.)

But there is no *way* you can risk a Dear Sirs, because it is entirely possible that such a salutation will ignite opposition to the candidate you aim to help. One student suggested Honorable Sirs and Mesdames. Ugh. Too much velvet there. And anyway, you're not supposed to use "honorable" except when addressing officials or former officials or anybody who was ever confirmed by the Senate . . .

(The current issue of *Forbes FYI*, in that super piece by Joel Achenbach on Air Force One, tells us he has made *twenty-seven* trips to California aboard Air Force One. That's more trips than Tricky Dick made to Washington when he was serving as senator from California and was accused of receiving secret funds to expedite his transcontinental travel! No, make that: !!! California didn't suffer 27 floods, earthquakes, or plagues. No, but our Prez was not going to take any chances on inattention to 54 electoral votes. Interesting question: What will be the ratio of pro-him votes, to pro-CCRI votes?)

I told the class that the late Clare Boothe Luce, who was the liveliest feminist of the century and did the whole bit with great humor, laid down the rule on the use of Lady. You must not use it unless it comes in as a complement to the word Gentleman. Ladies and Gentlemen is obviously OK, but never, The room was full of Men, though there were a few Ladies there. That, said Mrs. Luce, was condescending. Inversely condescending, inasmuch as you are prepared to refer to Men in the commonplace, but women are daintily superordinated, becoming Ladies.

(Reps. Dick Chrysler in Michigan and J. D. Hayworth in Arizona. Have to watch them. Freshmen reps and big big targets of big labor. Got to remember, this is the big day for John Sweeney. Depressing thought, back to class-warfare time, under Field Marshal Bonior. Wouldn't it be *grand* if he went down?)

I wondered out loud, Is the pressure on the salutation relieved by dropping Dear? You might then say: To: Board of Directors, 778 Park Avenue. But then the whole mind *aches* to go on . . . Dear— But the whole point of the exercise is to drop Dear. So you are left with, Board of Directors . . . I write to endorse the application of Mr. and Mrs. Elmtree. But that does sound cold, aloof, lacking in any trace of social joinerwork.

FDR used My Friends in his Fireside Chats. But then he had a relationship at least with those who had voted for him. And of course he was trying to co-opt those who hadn't voted for him, concentrated in Maine and Vermont. Nixon graduated to My Fellow Americans, but you wouldn't, surely, want to address the Board of Directors at 778 as My Fellow Americans? They might take out such a salutation on Mr. and Mrs. Elmtree.

(The polls close at 9. Thank God the liquor stores stay open.) □

Women versus Men?

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 1

As the curtain closes, one thinks of the insufficiently examined cleavage, Men versus Women. In California last week one poll showed women voting Democratic by a ratio of 2 to 1. By contrast, men are recorded 55 to 45 in favor of Dole.

The reason most often cited is of course abortion. But that subject is most intensely divisive among women themselves. Although men can be fervent on the question, indications are that more women than men make a single issue of abortion.

But the numbers aren't that heavily contrasted. There are several estimates, but they tend not to vary greatly. Most show Choicers at about 22 per cent give-no-quarter; Lifers at about 28. Translated: 22 per cent of women will not vote for a pro-Life candidate, 28 will not vote for a Choicer.

That, then, leaves us without a clear understanding of the reasons for the great disparity in the 1996 election. The *Wall Street Journal* has conducted one study, reported on by Albert Hunt, from which we learn that men are markedly more suspicious of government these days than women, and that they focus more sharply on economic issues.

Women, we are told, are drawn in greater numbers to the claims made by Mr. Clinton on behalf of education and health care. Perhaps it is in the nature of things that more women than men should think in terms of protection, and that the government looms in the imagination as the sovereign protector.

In the closing days of the campaign Mr. Clinton has declared himself the messiah of universal literacy. He has taken to shouting out his promises, though that may be because he is most frequently seen nowadays addressing not press conferences in the White House—they have for all intents and purposes disappeared—but huge stadiums, where one expects the voice not of a professor, but of a conqueror. Mr. Clinton shouts out that when the new century is rung in, every American will know how to read and write, and will receive a college education.

Why should that promise appeal more widely to women than to men? Not—let us try not to condescend to men—because women care more for literacy than men do. And men are surely as alert as women to the instrumental uses of a college education: they bump into the statistics day by day, which remind us that the college graduate receives on average 150 per cent the hourly compensation of the person who did not attend college.

It is hard to avoid concluding that women tend to be more credulous. Either they believe that Mr. Clinton can bring literacy, or else they do not quite believe it, but like to hear it said. The more deliberate listener is likely to pause and ask: How on earth is the President of the United States going to affect the rate of literacy? What will residents of, say, Indiana do that is different if Mr. Clinton is re-elected President? Indiana schoolchildren will or will not learn to read and to write according as they are taught by their teachers and prodded by their parents. What magical instruments are at the disposal of the White House to a) increase the teaching skills of teachers, or b) intensify the concern of parents? What will President Clinton *say* to Miss Jones, that will sharpen her skills or devotion? Or to Mrs. Johnson, to make her check up more frequently on Johnny's progress? The answer is so obvious as to raise questions about the literacy of anyone who believes that Mr. Clinton can do *anything* about the problem. What would have been the reaction of the voters if Mr. Clinton had promised everyone in America an annual trip around the world? Skepticism. How would such skepticism have been measured, on the men/women scale?

It will be worth examining the figures when they come in on Tuesday. What in fact was the difference in the voting, between the two sexes? Isn't it roughly correct to assume that that which benefits a woman, also benefits a man? Isn't it so that strictly feminine concerns—equal treatment, equal opportunity, protection against harassment—are jointly urged by both political parties? What can the psephologists come up with, a week from now, that reassures us that when a politician speaks, he is speaking jointly, to men and to women? □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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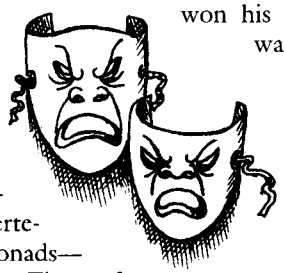
THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

NIGHT thoughts on the election. . . . First of all, I didn't vote. How could I? I'm a Baseball Spinster, not a Soccer Mom. I might as well be a Transmontane Whig or a Free-Silver Albigensian.

Add "archconservative" to my profile and it's obvious I had no place to go. No one remotely resembling a conservative was on the ballot. During the campaign I withheld my unvarnished opinion of Bob Dole out of whatever shreds of GOP loyalty I had left, but here it is: he's George Bush with a masculine voice. I was disgusted by the eager appeasement of his farewell Senate speech trumpeting his support of every liberal hissyfit from the Martin Luther King holiday to the Americans with Disabilities Act, and infuriated by his bouncer number in San Diego when he invited all who resist equality at any price to note that "the exits are clearly marked."



I have so noted and no longer count myself among Republicans. They're pussyfooting, henpecked invertebrates—all mouth and no gonads—and I'm through with them. That, of course, is wishful thinking in view of their sole area of dauntlessness. I refer to mailing lists. I'm on all of them, and the bombardment of pitches I received all summer and fall played no small part in my decision.

One in particular sticks in my mind. Sent under Bob Dole's signature, it said: "Because the RNC–State Victory '96 Battle Plan is a confidential GOP Members-only document, I have assigned it a code number. Please make sure this number, 004-07-073, matches the one on your Battle Plan."

This throbs with boys-in-the-treehouse arrested development, the glee of grown men assuming that everyone gets a kick out of being called Double-O-Four. It made me think, not of James Bond, but of the Tom Mix Clubs of my childhood, when we got a Secret Whistle Ring for three boxtops and the password was "Shredded Ralston for your breakfast."

Almost as hard as getting off GOP mailing lists is resigning from the female sex. I'm working on it. The extent to which women disgraced themselves in Campaign '96 and did serious damage to the political process can be measured by the hints, not entirely tongue-in-cheek, recently dropped by three respected conservative women commentators—Mona Charen, Kate O'Beirne, and Danielle Crittenden—that maybe giving women the vote was a mistake. Add my ongoing potshots on this subject and we are four musketeers.

The old chestnut that women voting for the first time elected Warren Harding in 1920 is false: he would have won his overwhelming victory anyway. But women did re-elect Bill Clinton, by an edematous 54 to 37 per cent, a nicely metaphorical margin of victory inviting images of premenstrual bloat approaching the watery-grave level.

Besides electing Clinton, women have made emotional meltdown a condition of office in a manner not seen since Jean-Jacques Rousseau persuaded the French aristocracy that "I feel, therefore I am" was an improvement on Cartesian logic. The priorities women have foisted on the political process have so filled the public forum with tears, intuitive insights, and hysterical particularism that we are in the throes of another Romantic Movement without the art and literature that made the first one worthwhile.

Women lack an objective point of view, and have not the inclination or ability to weigh and dissect dispassionately. As female political dominance has increased, our august national watchwords of life, liberty, and property have yielded to "You're being mean to me!," "Don't you dare touch that child!," and prissy reprimands of "incivility" directed against anyone with a rigorous, unequivocal manner of speaking. The male politician wishing to keep one step ahead of the ad hoc female nervous system must do what the male protagonist did in the famous short story "The Lady or the Tiger?" Just hold your breath, open the door, and see what comes out.

Women also harbor a resentment of grandeur, of the imposing and imperious in any form. For this reason, and despite feminism, women's political agendas evoke drab visions of unemancipated drudgery, as when my fellow spinster Gloria Steinem predicted during the Pope's visit: "We will live to see the day when St. Patrick's Cathedral is a child-care center." Having already lived to see political conventions turned into child-care centers, I believe her.

HISTORY seems to suggest that whenever women get something, either it's no longer worth having, or, if it's still valuable, women's acquisition of it signals the beginning of the end. Women in major countries got the vote after two wars that left democracy in serious disrepair; English, American, and some European women after World War I, the rest of Europe's women after World War II. Democracy got back on its feet, but its heyday of pure republican vigor was gone for good, and once women started casting make-nice votes for social programs, small-"r" republicanism was forgotten about entirely.

Teaching lost status after women took it over, but that can't compare to the wrecking crews at work today. Women in the military? Too brutal and hardening, said men, but women persevered and now we have a sensitive, vulnerable Army and a Navy so crazymaking that its readiness state is Ethelred. Law? Women are too emotional and subjective, said men, whereupon all the girls went to law school and now everybody is suing everybody else and going to jail on the testimony of children.

What would an America of disfranchised women be like? As a native of Washington, D.C., I couldn't vote until I was 26, so I'm already used to the idea. I don't expect it to happen, but as I said at the start, these are night thoughts. They shroud the glare from shining bridges to the twenty-first century and the rosy cheeks of Mrs. Clinton's village insurgents. As for the lush green promise of inclusion, I say it's spinach and I say the hell with it. □

Miss King is the author of The Florence King Reader *and other books.*

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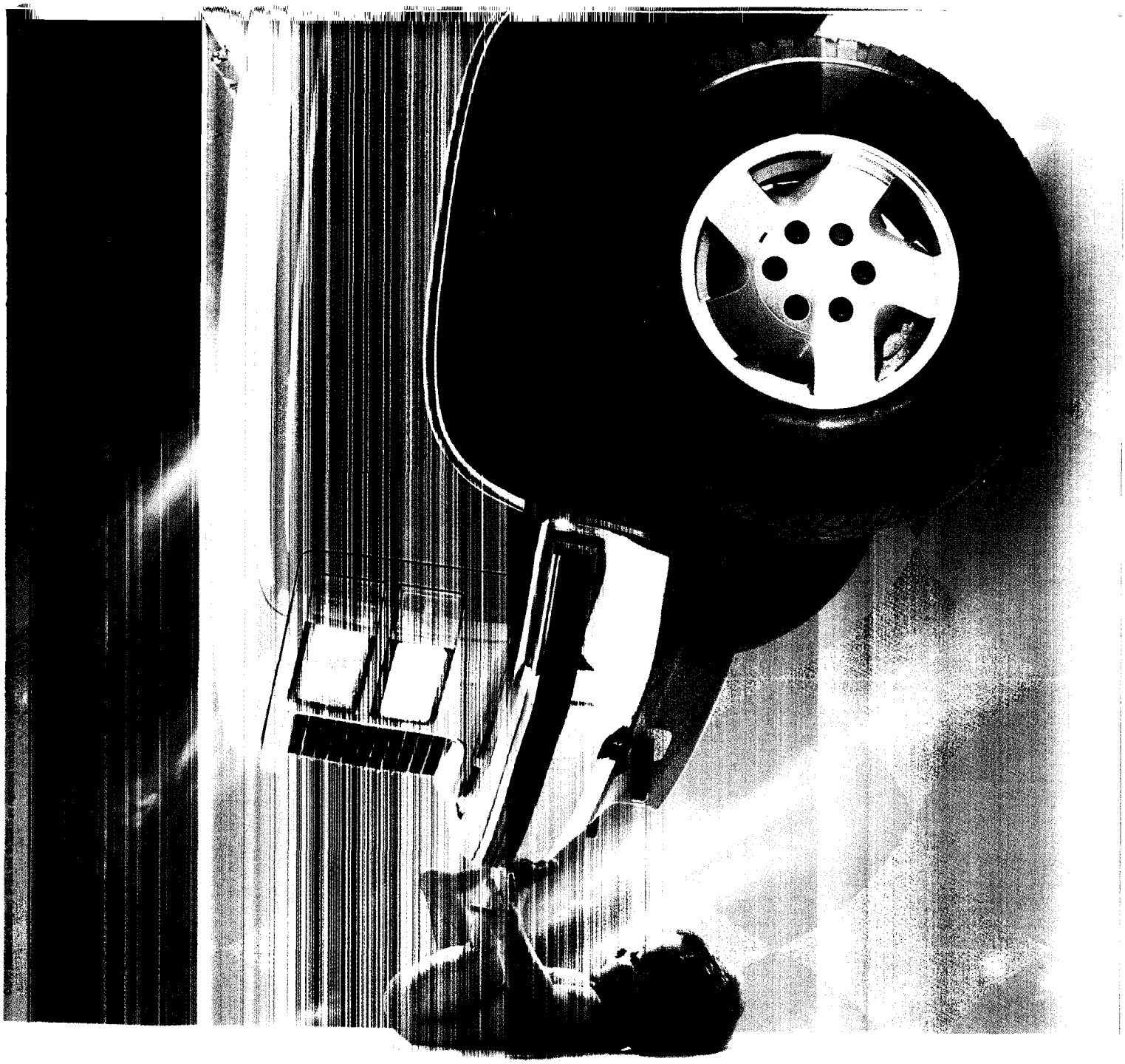

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